

Educational challenges in multilingual societies

LOITASA Phase Two Research

Edited by
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**AFRICAN
MINDS**

First published in 2010 by African Minds
www.africanminds.co.za

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ISBN: 978-1-920489-06-9

Produced by Compress.dsl
www.compressdsl.com

Table of contents

About the authors	vii
Introduction.....	1
Complexities of languages and multilingualism in post-colonial predicaments <i>Fernando Rosa Ribeiro</i>	15
Reclaiming the common sense <i>Solveig Gulling</i>	49
Policy on the language of instruction issue in Africa – a spotlight on South Africa and Tanzania <i>Birgit Brock-Utne</i>	74
Laissez-faire approaches to language in education policy do not work in South Africa <i>Zubeida Desai</i>	102
Taught language or talked language: Second language teaching strategies in an isiXhosa Beginners' class at the University of Cape Town <i>Tessa Dowling</i>	113
Turn-allocation and learner participation in Grade four Science lessons in isiXhosa and English <i>Vuyokazi Nomlomo</i>	129

The use of ICT in South African classrooms and the double literacy trap <i>Greta Gudmundsdottir</i>	147
A critical evaluation of selected textbooks used in teaching standard six Mathematics, Kiswahili and English in selected Kiswahili and English-medium primary schools in Tanzania <i>Martha Qorro</i>	173
What is the difference in achievement of learners in selected Kiswahili and English-medium primary schools in Tanzania? <i>Jane Bakahwemama</i>	204
What is the difference in the quality of education provided by government and private primary schools in Tanzania? A comparative study <i>Julitha Cecilia John</i>	229
A comparative appraisal of teaching and learning resources in private and government primary schools in Tanzania: Implications for teaching and learning <i>Mwajuma Vuzo</i>	254
Why is the choice of the language of instruction in which students learn best seldom made in Tanzania? <i>Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite</i>	281
The ICT influence on the choice of language in higher education in Tanzania – Pictures from fieldwork at the University of Dar es Salaam 2008–2009 <i>Torill Aagot Halvorsen</i>	306
The prospects for and possible implications of teaching African Philosophy in Kiswahili in East Africa: A Tanzanian perspective <i>Birgit Brock-Utne and Azaveli Lwaitama</i>	333

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Introduction

Birgit Brock-Utne, Zubeida Desai and Martha Qorro

This book is the sixth in a series of books from the LOITASA (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa) project (Brock-Utne, et al. 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006; Qorro et al., 2008). This book reflects the project work done in 2008 and 2009 during the second phase of the LOITASA Project. We have decided that for the four books we have planned in this phase, the southern partners will be the first editors: Thus two books will be Qorro et al., and two, Desai et al.

LOITASA is a project which began in January 2002 and is funded by the Norwegian University Fund (NUFU). The first phase continued through 2006. At the end of that phase, we were granted a second round of funding (2007–2011). LOITASA is what, in donor circles, is known as a ‘South-South-North’ cooperation project which, in this case, involves research cooperation between South Africa, Tanzania and Norway.

The first phase of the LOITASA project consisted of two main parts: The first part included a description and analysis of current language policies and the implementation of the policies (see Desai, 2003; Brock-Utne 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; Holmarsdottir, 2005) whilst the second part involved an experimental design dealing with the languages of instruction in South Africa and Tanzania. In South Africa, the empirical research involved a longitudinal study from Grades 4 to 6 at two schools in the Western Cape, with one class at each school being taught Science and Geography in isiXhosa and the other in English, the current medium of instruction. 2003 was the first of this longitudinal study and involved Grade 4 pupils. An isiXhosa-speaking staff member at UWC connected to the LOITASA project, Vuyokazi Nomlomo (2007), did research for her PhD on this part of the project. She obtained her PhD in 2007, the first year of

the new phase of the project. Her chapter in this volume interrogates her data more deeply from a conversational analysis perspective.

The Tanzanian part of the project was supposed to take place at secondary school level, since that is when Tanzanian pupils officially start using English as the medium of instruction. This part of the project was supposed to focus on Form 1 and Form 2 students with one class at each school being taught in Kiswahili and the other in English. These students were supposed to be taught through the medium of Kiswahili in Forms 1 and 2. However, the empirical part did not take place as planned since the then Minister of Education was unwilling to grant the necessary permission for the research to take place as originally planned. Instead, we had to conduct smaller experiments which could be done through research clearance from the University of Dar es Salaam. Two Tanzanian doctoral students, Mwajuma Vuzo (2007) and Halima Mwinsheikhe (2007), wrote their doctoral theses on these experiments. These two students also received their doctorates in 2007.

Most of the chapters in this book were first presented as papers at the LOITASA workshop held in the Faculty of Education at the University of Western Cape from 4 to 6 May 2009. In the second phase of LOITASA, as in the first, we will have one workshop in Norway and the remaining three in South Africa and Tanzania. In the first phase, we had two workshops in Tanzania and two in South Africa, which resulted in books (Brock-Utne et al., 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006). The fifth workshop was in Norway in 2006 and took the form of a large conference, the LEA (Languages and Education in Africa) conference which involved five NUFU projects at the University of Oslo dealing with the language question in Africa. A book has been published from that conference edited by Brock-Utne and Skattum (2008). No workshop took place in 2007, as it was a year for summing up, for consolidation and for planning the new phase.

The first LOITASA workshop in the new phase was held at Oslo University in Norway from 30 April to 1 May 2008 and was followed by an international conference, IMPLAN (Implications of Language for Peace and Development), from 2 to 3 May 2009. This enabled LOITASA researchers to participate in both events. LOITASA Book 5 (Qorro et al., 2008) is based on this workshop. A collection of the papers presented at the IMPLAN conference has

been published (Brock-Utne and Garbo, 2009).

The chapters in this book are organised slightly differently from previous volumes. We have decided to group the chapters according to topics covered, rather than from a country perspective. Accordingly, the first four chapters deal with macro issues surrounding language in education in multilingual contexts. The first chapter by Fernando Rosa Ribeiro draws on the complexities of language in multilingual contexts such as Brazil, India and South Africa. He problematises the notions of 'language' and 'standard variety' and the inequalities such concepts lead to. At the same time, he makes the reader aware of the globalising influences which lead to a language like English playing the dominant role it does.

The next chapter by Solveig Maria Lehoczky Gulling is built on her Masters thesis at the UiO which deals with the marketisation of education (Gulling, 2009). Both her thesis and the chapter presented here seek to explain the effects on the education sector of the neo-liberal ideology which has been forced on the developing countries but embraced more willingly by the industrialised countries through the last decades. Gulling opens her chapter by remembering the time when she started her career as a teacher and teacher union activist in Norway at the beginning of the seventies. At that time, the development of the education sector was driven by state-focused, welfare-orientated movements trying to create an educational system based on increased equality and social citizenship. Those who implemented it, were the 1968 generation of teachers who came to think of school as an institution where democracy, cultural recognition and equal opportunity could serve as central principles (Jones et al., 2008). Thirty years later, the ideology driving development in general as well as in the education sector is driven by neo-liberalism. In Europe, these ideas are most clearly articulated by the European Union (EU) through their goal to become "the most competitive economy in the world" by reshaping the education systems in the EU countries to enable them to produce the "right" human capital (Hatcher, 2009). Countries in the *south* and the former Eastern Europe have been more influenced by the *Structural Adjustment Programmes* (SAP) of the *World Bank* and the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF), which have led to the weakening of public education. In her chapter, Gulling discusses

the factors that might have contributed to the development of the neo-liberal agenda, among them what she calls “the thought war”, which actively seeks to change our way of thinking, our common sense. One part of this “war” has been to repeat ideologically useful words in order to influence the political discussion in a special direction. Gulling uses a Critical Discourse Analysis approach in looking at this vocabulary. She focuses on words of special interest for the education sector.

Birgit Brock-Utne opens her chapter with a quote from Zubeida Desai who notes that her involvement at language policy level for over a decade and a half has taught her that technical experts can try to influence the process, but their success really depends on the amount of influence they have on the political actors. In the rest of the chapter, Brock-Utne struggles with questions like: What influences policy-makers? Why do Tanzanian policy-makers not change the language of instruction (LoI) policies when research findings show that these policies work to the detriment of the masses of Africans? Why do South-African policy-makers not bother about implementing the LoI policies which have been put in place? In her chapter, Brock-Utne first describes the current language of instruction policies of Tanzania and South Africa. She then analyses the policies as to how progressive and consistent they are. She looks at the implementation of the policies and asks where the two countries are now heading. Are there any signs that a research project like LOITASA, apart from producing books, academic theses and research results, has also had an impact on public opinion, has led to changes in policies, in the implementation of policies or the mindset of influential individuals?

In the last part of the chapter, Brock-Utne notes that the concept “power” seems to be the missing link in the analysis of language of instruction policies. She then uses this concept in an attempt to understand the complexity surrounding language of instruction policies in Tanzania and South Africa. She looks at the power of the donors and the power of the elites. She further uses the analysis of Michel Foucault (1975) of the link between power and knowledge. He claims that belief systems gain momentum (and hence power) as more people come to accept the particular views associated with that belief system as *common knowledge*. Lastly, Brock-Utne discusses the

power of misconceptions and deals with the common misconception among lay people that the best way to learn a foreign language is to have it as a language of instruction.

In her chapter, Desai questions whether *laissez-faire* approaches to language in education policy can work in developing countries such as South Africa, where a diet of difference under apartheid led to huge inequalities in society. In such a context, choices lean towards homogenising approaches. The essence of the proposition made by Desai is that unless language in education policy decisions are top-down in South Africa, the legacies of the past will continue in the form of mainly English-medium instruction, despite progressive policies which encourage the use of mother-tongue education. Her starting premise is that the key to African language development is mother-tongue education. It is only when languages are used in high domains such as education that they will develop fully. Using initiatives launched by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) as the backdrop for this chapter, she proceeds to illustrate systematically how not much has changed in schools serving the poor in the Western Cape. Dismally low literacy rates are the order of the day. Decentralising decision-making to the school level has led to the status quo remaining: Very few schools opt to extend isiXhosa, the local African language, as a medium beyond Grade 3. Moreover those who indeed choose to do so complain about the lack of textbooks in isiXhosa as publishers are not prepared to produce materials in isiXhosa if there is not a sufficient demand. She concludes by interrogating notions of multilingualism currently in vogue and questions whether linguistic practices from “below” can change power dynamics in unequal societies such as in South Africa.

The next three chapters focus on research and intervention projects in South Africa. In her chapter, Tessa Dowling addresses the important issue of the teaching of African languages as second languages. In an interesting chapter provocatively titled *Taught Language or Talked Language?* Dowling examines the problem of which language varieties to use when teaching African languages. Do we teach colloquial African language varieties or do we insist on teaching standard varieties that are sometimes not even understood by native African language speakers? In addressing these questions,

she makes reference to the new *IsiXhosa Intensive Course* currently offered by her at the University of Cape Town. The new course mixes slang, colloquial Xhosa and standard isiXhosa by introducing a set of characters who make use of these different language varieties. Students are thus able to see that a language can be as dynamic and different as the diverse population that speaks it. Part of the problem (and pleasure) of learning a language is the realisation that it cannot be learnt in isolation from its most talkative speech communities. This chapter should be useful to second language teachers of any language.

Vuyokazi Nomlomo's chapter discusses the relationship between the language used in teaching and learning in relation to turn-taking as a teacher-learner interaction technique in classroom discourse. Through the lens of Conversational Analysis (CA), her chapter explores how the language of instruction influences turn-taking in terms of turn-allocation and self-selection in the classroom, with special reference to Grade 4 science lessons taught through the medium of English and an indigenous language (isiXhosa) in a Western Cape primary school in South Africa. She argues that while the learners' home language facilitates teacher-learner interaction and better understanding of subject content, it does not necessarily promote learner-centred teaching approaches as required by the new outcomes-based curriculum. While acknowledging the role of the different interactional units underpinning classroom interaction, the chapter concludes that sociocultural factors also play a significant role in understanding turn-taking in classroom interaction.

Greta Gudmundsdottir focuses on the implications of language when implementing information and communication technology (ICT) in three classrooms in the Western Cape, South Africa. She poses an interesting question which has been much under discussion – Does the use of ICT narrow the divide between rich and poor learners? The answer, as her research shows, is not a simple one, even in a fairly developed country such as South Africa. There is a tendency to equate ICT with computer literacy. Gudmundsdottir's focus, however, is not only on the number of computers and the size of the bandwidth, or as Warschauer (2003) refers to it, "physical resources", but also on "human resources"; that is the potential of the use of ICT to further the literacy and cognitive development of learners.

Her study focuses on three quite different primary schools in the Western Cape. It is not surprising to note that ICT use is most advanced at the school where physical, digital, human and social resources (Warschauer, 2003) are present. There is a clear correlation between learners' and teachers' mother tongues and ICT use. Where the teachers' and learners' language coincide with the language of instruction, greater use is made of ICT for the purposes of learning. Gudmundsdottir argues that the use of technology needs to be culturally appropriate for users to take best advantage of it. Education users and the state departments need to move beyond the "physical resources" aspect for ICT use to be owned by people if we are serious about narrowing the divide between rich and poor learners.

The remaining seven chapters focus on ongoing research in Tanzania on the language of instruction. Five of the chapters deal with the primary school sector while the last two focus on the use of Kiswahili in higher education.

Martha Qorro in her chapter undertakes a critical evaluation of selected textbooks used in teaching Grade 6 in mathematics, Kiswahili and English in the Kiswahili and English-medium primary schools in Tanzania selected for the second phase of LOITASA. The chapter describes the process of evaluation, taking into account the appropriateness and relevance of the said textbooks. It also analyses the question of appropriateness in terms of the linguistic level of difficulty of the textbooks (readability) in relation to pupils' level of understanding as well as the textbooks they used in the previous year. The chapter also looks at the organisation or presentation of content and the way topics have been sequenced as well as the use or non- use of illustrations and how these affect pupils' interest and their attraction to the books. The relevance of textbooks in terms of how the content relates to the curriculum and the extent to which they are appropriate in the Tanzanian context is also examined.

Four of the following six chapters are built on research carried out in the primary schools chosen for the second phase of the LOITASA project in Tanzania. Some of the schools are in Dar es Salaam and some in Morogoro. The research reported on here concerns the Dar es Salaam sites only and the early part of the project before the intervention by the LOITASA team had taken effect. Jane Bakahwemama has looked at the difference in achievement of

learners in the Kiswahili-medium government and the English-medium private primary schools in Tanzania. The study showed that the academic performance of pupils in the private primary school was generally better than the academic performance in the public primary school chosen for this study in Dar es Salaam.

The generally higher performance of pupils in the private primary school was associated with them having qualified, committed, sufficiently paid and motivated teachers as well as adequate teaching and learning materials. Other factors were small class size, provision of sufficient classroom exercises, home assignments and feedback as well as more learning opportunities in the form of private tuition. The parents of the children in private schools also used considerable time with their children to go through homework exercises. Bakahwemama concluded that in order for public primary schools to be successful, there is a need to improve teachers' working and living conditions and to provide the schools with adequate teaching and learning materials.

Bakahwemama found that there is a need for conducting in-service training, seminars and workshops for public school teachers to strengthen their existing knowledge and skills.

In the following chapter, Julitha Cecilia John, who has visited the same schools in the Dar es Salaam region, asks the question: What is the difference in the quality of education provided by Government and Private Primary schools in Tanzania? Through extensive interviewing and also by following the newspaper debate on the quality of education, John found that for lay people, English is not only a medium through which education can be accessed, but it is equated with quality education itself. Furthermore, people believe that without English, the education offered cannot meet international standards. People confuse quality of education with English proficiency and decide to take their children to PPS which use English as LoI. They would rather leave their children to be taught in poor English than to be taught in Kiswahili, a language they know well. In the long run, children end up with the ability to neither speak English nor acquire education, as the teachers in these schools are not very competent in the English language themselves. The teachers in PPS have the same qualifications and have gone through the same Teachers' Training Colleges as those in

GPS. People believe that the best way to learn English is to have it as the language of instruction.

Mwajuma Vuzo has made a comparative appraisal of teaching and learning resources in some private and government primary schools in Tanzania. Vuzo mentions that there is a perception that students attending privately-owned English medium of instruction primary schools tend to perform better than those in government-owned Kiswahili medium of instruction primary schools. Most of the private schools have far better teaching and learning facilities than the government schools. There are, however, some primary schools that do not have much difference in teaching and learning resources compared to government primary schools. Hence, Vuzo saw the need for the survey research she reports on in this chapter. The objectives of the study were to establish the teaching and learning resources available in both private and government primary schools. This was in order to provide an account of the resources that need to be provided in either private or government primary schools chosen to be part of the LOITASA project so that there is equality in the provision of education and the only difference is related to the language of instruction used in these schools.

Questionnaires, interviews and an observation checklist were the main data gathering techniques employed in this survey. The findings revealed that there are differences in the teaching and learning resources such that in English-medium primary schools, there were many more than those in government primary schools. It was further noted that these teaching and learning resources could send wrong signals to parents who assume that their children are getting quality education in relation to the use of English as the language of instruction. Vuzo recommends that selected government primary schools that are part of the LOITASA study should be stocked with teaching and learning resources to a similar level to that of selected private primary schools and the teaching and learning is observed and further evaluation is made on the students' performance in these schools.

In her chapter, Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite poses the question: Why is the choice of the language of instruction in which students learn best seldom made in Tanzania? In order to find an answer to this question Babaci-Wilhite interviewed parents as well as policy-

makers. One of the important findings from her study is that parental decisions between public and private schools and between Kiswahili and English are made on the basis of insufficient information about the learning implications of their choices. Babaci-Wilhite sees it as essential that the government provides better information on the role of language in learning and on the advantages of Kiswahili as a LoI. When Babaci-Wilhite confronted government officials with this view, they responded that it should be the parents' responsibility to seek out this information, and that the government had to respect parental choices, since Tanzania is a democracy. Based on Babaci-Wilhite's results, the problem is, however, that there is a misunderstanding among parents about language and learning. They believe that having English as the LoI will improve students' learning abilities and their opportunities in life. The myth has to be deflated in order for parents to make informed choices. The growth in private schools is partly due to the strength of this myth, whereas in truth, a great deal of the success of private schools has to do with greater access to resources compared with government schools.

Babaci-Wilhite sees that with the prevailing attitudes among parents as well as government officials, it will take time for the government to put a system into place to develop Kiswahili as a LoI in secondary and tertiary education. A sustainable investment should be made in Kiswahili as the LoI in secondary school and the performance of students monitored in order to assess whether they perform better at school.

Torill Aagot Halvorsen has looked at the ICT influence on the choice of language in Higher Education in Tanzania. The project presented in this chapter focuses on the Tanzanian elite: The staff and students at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM). As the participants at the LEA conference in Oslo in June 2006 agreed upon, while the elite in African countries are part of the problem when it comes to changing the language of instruction to a familiar African language, they are at the same time a part of the solution to this problem (Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009).

This chapter illuminates the connection between new technologies and the choices being made in deciding which language students are to be taught in. Firstly, the chapter presents Halvorsen's ongoing project run by the University of Oslo and the University of Dar

es Salaam which spans a period from 2008 to 2012. Secondly, the preliminary findings from fieldwork conducted at the UDSM from October 2008 to January 2009 are described. Finally, some reflections sum up the elucidated findings.

The last chapter in this book is written by Birgit Brock-Utne and Azaveli Lwaitama. It builds on a paper that the two authors presented at a conference on Philosophy in East Africa. The conference was held at the University of Dar es Salaam from 18 to 20 November 2009 and coincided with the UNESCO World Philosophy Day on 19 November 2009. In the chapter, the two authors draw on their experiences relating to their familiarity with aspects of the philosophy of education in Tanzania. They want to share with the reader their conceptions of what they consider to be the kind of African Philosophy that ought to guide the provision of Education for All in East Africa.

The chapter explores the meaning of African Philosophy and how best such a philosophy can be taught in East African institutions of higher learning, including, eventually, through the medium of Kiswahili. Also discussed are the experiences of introducing elements of the teaching of Philosophy through the medium of Kiswahili at the then Makumira Lutheran Seminary in Arusha, Northern Tanzania and at the Roman Catholic Church's seminary known as the Salvatorian Institute of Theology and Philosophy in Morogoro, Central Tanzania. Furthermore, the philosophical underpinnings of justice administration in post-colonial Tanzania are discussed in light of insights from the philosophy of law gained from a recent critical discourse analysis study of judgements on land cases dating back to the ujamaa philosophy era.

In conclusion, East African Universities, together with universities in countries like Finland, Sweden and Norway, which have often supported them in their efforts to indigenise intellectual discourse, are urged to redouble their efforts in studying indigenous systems and remnant artefacts of traditional African wisdom, of the kind, for instance, that the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere drew upon in articulating the concept of Ujamaa, the essence of African socialism or ubuntu.

This book is edited by Zubeida Desai who is the South African project leader of LOITASA, Martha Qorro, who is on the steering

committee of the LOITASA project in Tanzania and Birgit Brock-Utne, who is the Norwegian project leader of LOITASA. Each chapter has been read and edited by at least two of us. In cases where we have been in doubt whether to include a chapter or not, all three editors have read it and taken a unanimous decision. Most of the chapters have been sent back to the authors for clarification. We have shortened some of the chapters to avoid repetition and to create a publication that we hope will be an interesting book with chapters that complement each other rather than a collection of unrelated articles. We have kept the references behind each chapter rather than gathering them all in the back. We have done this as we are aware of the fact that some students of African languages might be more interested in one chapter than in another. The final editing was done by all three of us during a week in Gordon's Bay, South Africa in September 2009.

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Complexities of languages and multilingualism in post-colonial predicaments¹

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Introducing languages as historical constructs

Working on non-European languages may occasionally turn the scholar into somewhat of a demophobe, namely someone who shuns the masses and their language beliefs and practices. This is so as many of the things we unearth in our research go against the grain of received wisdom and many social practices related to languages. Let us consider, for instance, the incredibly powerful and persisting idea that languages are separate, distinct entities that can be described as so many different standard mediums spoken by discreet communities of speakers living within more or less well-demarcated territories. We now know that this pervasive notion is, in the postcolonial world, a nineteenth- and early twentieth century

1 This chapter is related to a presentation at LOITASA's (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa) workshop held in May 2009 at the Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town. I am grateful for the invitation to take part, extended by Professor Zubeida Desai, while I was doing research work in Kerala, India. I also extend special thanks to both Patric Solomons and Dr Shaun Viljoen in Cape Town for the unstinting support provided over the years. In Kerala, Nandan Kumar and G. Devika in Trivandrum, as well as Gopinath Arunima from Jawarhalal Nehru University in Delhi and Udayan Kumar from Delhi University, have provided both support and friendship. I am also grateful to Rochelle Pinto, formerly with the Centre for the Study of Society and Culture in Bangalore, as well as to her former Centre. Besides, I am grateful to Claudia Wanderley, with University of Campinas, for many conversations that have proved important in writing this chapter. My thanks also go to the staff of the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town. My research in India and South Africa in 2009 was financed by Fundação de Amparo À Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo.

construct related to colonial techniques of classification, enumeration and cartography used to describe and control populations. This has been fairly well-documented by recent historiography for instance, in the case of some parts of India.² In Europe, its most visible and immediate roots are perhaps to be found in Herder's writings of the eighteenth century in German and in subsequent constructions of various kinds of nationalism welding the notion of language to that of a people in Western, Central and Eastern Europe, not to mention European borderlands such as Scandinavia, Ireland, Greece, and Turkey. For Africa, excellent work has been done in this regard in various areas and languages. One outstanding recent historiographical work is for instance Patrick Harries' *Butterflies & Barbarians* (2007), a study about missionaries and the urge to classify, including the classification and description of the Thonga languages, a group of related languages straddling the border of central and southern Mozambique and South Africa.³

In fact, collapsing language, a community of speakers and a given territory has been so often taken for granted that the ambiguous, multilayered historical processes that gave rise to it have been largely forgotten, except by some linguists and historians. Therefore, we are today dealing not with supposedly ancient, pre-colonial linguistic mediums but with very complex colonial and post-colonial constructs whose existence and prevalence among certain populations in specific territories is nowadays usually taken for granted in government language policy or education. The historian of languages, as a consequence, not to mention the specialist in multilingualism, finds herself in a peculiar position. The problem is compounded if we add to this predicament the fact that the scholar can be called upon to give expert opinion that can then be applied to various aspects of the world around her. In this situation, pointing out the complex historical roots behind the language constructs we are virtually obliged to deal with nowadays, is practically tantamount to ensconcing ourselves into scholarly positions that hardly find an echo outside academia – and often not even inside it.

2 For a good review of this historiography, see the introduction in Pinto (2007).

3 It is also interesting to read the work of one of the main missionaries studied by Harries, namely, Henri Junod – see for instance the introduction in Junod (1907: 3) for Junod's strong pleas for a separate, 'regularly constructed, independent, harmonious' Thonga language.

This is so because hardly anybody wants to know, for instance, that the current division of the isiNguni languages in Southern Africa into four different, discreet and separate literary mediums – namely, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Siswati and isiNdebele (in decreasing order of demographic importance as far as South Africa is concerned) – was at one point hardly an accepted practice, not even within the emerging field of “Bantu” linguistics in the 1920s and 1930s. For instance, isiNdebele was treated as a mere dialect of isiZulu until well into the twentieth century, in spite of a literary culture (back then entirely of missionary origin) in the language having developed in Southern Zimbabwe well over a hundred years ago;⁴ whereas the development of Siswati as a literary medium and a language of instruction has roots in the 1960s and 1970s and the need of the newly independent Swazi state to have a standard language separate from isiZulu, then in the process of being claimed as an important South African (i.e. “homeland”) language in neighbouring KwaZulu. Unsurprisingly, Swaziland used isiZulu as a written language into the postcolonial era. The Swazi orthography dated from 1969, and it was only after that year that Siswati began to be increasingly used in Swazi schools (Rycroft, 1995: vii).

This historically recent process of construction of a separate medium is very apparent in the printed page as the orthography of Siswati diverges considerably from that of its sister isiNguni languages, even though spoken Siswati remains very close to many spoken forms of isiZulu and isiNdebele, and even some spoken forms of isiXhosa.⁵ These last three languages, in turn, have very similar orthography due to pre-apartheid and apartheid efforts to standardise them from the point of view of a centrally engineered state plan.⁶ Here the major influence was that of Clement M. Doke, a leading pioneer linguist in South Africa who had a hand

4 However, isiNdebele in South Africa and Sindebele in Zimbabwe are related but far from identical languages.

5 In fact, Siswati belongs to a Tekela subgroup of isiNguni where it is the only member to enjoy any official status today (Taljaard et al., 1991: 1).

6 He is also largely responsible for the unification of five Shona dialects into ‘Union Shona’ (today’s Chishona) in the 1930s, as well as for laying down principles of morphological analysis of African languages, many of which are in use until now (Doke, 1929). One of his ‘findings’, the ideophone, a peculiar feature of many African languages, is widely employed to this day in descriptions in African grammars (Doke, 1927). African Studies put forth in 1971 a special commemorative issue on Doke and his work.

in changing orthographies for the isiNguni languages in the 1930s (the orthography for both isiZulu and isiXhosa were changed in 1931, and then again in the 1950s by the apartheid government. See *A Practical Orthography for Xhosa*, 1931). Even though some of his changes have been cancelled by the new apartheid orthographies of the 1950s (notably three special letters devised by linguists to indicate sounds specific to both isiZulu and isiXhosa), his influence remains great, as he also introduced conjunctive writing for isiZulu and isiNguni languages in general based on a famous principle of identifying words as being units with only one primary stress.

As the orthography of Siswati was created mostly in independent Swaziland, it was not seriously affected by that plan.⁷ To this day, the fact that since 1959, Sesotho orthography in South Africa and the Kingdom of Lesotho are slightly divergent, also has its roots in Lesotho's independent status (and consequently in that country's refusal to follow the South African lead).⁸ In fact, Sesotho in Lesotho currently boasts the most ancient orthography in use in Southern Africa, as it dates back to the very early years of the twentieth century (and is therefore a couple of decades older than the current orthography for Afrikaans, for instance).⁹ Doke vilifies Sesotho orthography, which is of French missionary origin (incidentally, Doke was originally a missionary himself). To him it uses senseless French-derived orthographic conventions (like using "e" and "o" for the semi-vowels "y" and "w") as well as a kind of disjunctive writing (i.e. writing most of the prefixes and other particles separately from the noun and verb stems) that he vehemently condemns as being European-derived, illogically applied and "non-Bantu". Sesotho still employs to this day the same orthographic conventions that Doke condemned, as well as, of course, the disjunctive writing of French missionary origin (Doke, 1982). In fact, an attempt in the 1930s

7 Current Siswati orthography is based on a joint orthography agreed upon by both South Africa and Swaziland in 1980. However, this was apparently based on the 1969 Swazi orthography (Taljaard et al., 1991: 1). Perhaps Siswati has therefore the only current orthography in South Africa that was developed originally mostly by African specialists.

8 To this day, what is now the most ancient African language publishing house with a continuous existence in Southern Africa at Morija in Lesotho, publishes separate versions of Sesotho books for the local and the South African markets.

9 This last country modified its colonially-derived orthography in 1981, but on lines that are very close to those of South Africa (Jansen and Tsonepe, 1991: 63-65; *A Practical Orthography for Tswana*, 1937).

to engineer a common orthography for all three Sotho-Tswana languages (with an eye to the future unification of those languages) floundered exactly because of colonial Basutoland's (today's Lesotho) refusal to change its orthography. Doke chaired the committee that eventually devised a common orthography for both Setswana and Sepedi in 1937 which is, bar a few minor changes, in use to this day, both in South Africa and Botswana (in the case of Setswana).

The variations in the orthography of the various forms of Xitsonga-Shangaan spoken on both sides of the Mozambique/South Africa border also have complex roots, both in the colonial era and in the independent practices of the postcolonial South African and Mozambican states (Sitoé and Ngunga, 2000; Sitoé, 2003). Moreover, isiNdebele also owes a good deal of its current status as a language separate and distinct from isiZulu to the fact that the colony of Southern Rhodesia, today's Zimbabwe, where it is also spoken, became a distinct and separate colonial and later postcolonial state (for a discussion on isiNguni languages, see Doke, 1954; Herbert and Bailey, 2002). Unsurprisingly, it has had different spellings on either side of the border. Revealingly, one of the varieties of "Transvaal Ndebele", a language in-between the Sotho-Tswana and isiNguni language groups, failed to acquire a foothold in the state as one of South Africa's official languages after the apartheid era ended (it is spoken exclusively in South Africa and, last but not least, it is a "hybrid" language that blurs the line between the well-established Sotho-Tswana and isiNguni groups – see Ziervogel 1959).¹⁰

The Sotho-Tswana languages comprise the three official languages, in decreasing order of demographic importance inside South Africa, Sepedi, Setswana (also official in neighbouring Botswana), and Sesotho (also official in Lesotho). A fourth, related language is spoken in Zambia, namely, Silozi. Setswana in particular has a fairly large number of sub-languages or dialects – almost until the mid-twentieth century there were several different orthographies for the language according to which group would write it. In fact, choosing a common standard language with a common orthography – both processes happened in part concomitantly – proved particularly tricky and difficult in comparison with other Southern African

¹⁰ During the apartheid era there were two languages, North Transvaal Ndebele and South Transvaal Ndebele, only one of which is now recognised.

languages (see *A Practical Orthography for Tswana*, 1937, and the important comment on it in Jansen and Tsonope, 1991: 63-65).

Another case in point is isiPhuthi, spoken in southern Lesotho and in adjacent parts of South Africa, a form of isiNguni heavily influenced by Sesotho and therefore widely diverging from the standard isiNguni languages. It has never acquired anything remotely approaching official status in either Lesotho or South Africa. Similarly, certain isiXhosa language forms, such as isiBhaca, with complex ties to both isiXhosa and Siswati, have also singularly failed to attain almost any form of recognition as standard or written mediums even though they differ to a large extent from other isiNguni standard languages (Doke, 1954). Nor is this situation necessarily typically African or Southern African. For instance, the division of the Indian postcolonial state into large language-based states in 1956 created many problems not wholly dissimilar to those created by apartheid's virtually contemporaneous attempt to segregate different language-based communities (in spite, of course, of the widely different political situation in each country at the time – see Schwartzberg, 2009). To name but one, the dual use of both Tamil and Malayalam in the pre-colonial and colonial kingdom of Travancore (covering most of the territory of today's state of Kerala), not to mention other parts of the state (such as that covered by the former Kingdom of Cochin in Central Kerala), has been largely discontinued due to lack of official support. This is in spite of the fact that both Tamil and Malayalam remain very close languages with a high degree of mutual intelligibility as far as the spoken language is concerned. To this day they also partly share an ancient common literary heritage.

After 1956, those parts of Kerala that were mostly Tamil-speaking have been mostly (though not invariably) handed over to Tamil Nadu, including the old South Travancore Tamil-speaking pre-colonial province that makes up the far south of India. Nowadays Tamil is formally taught hardly anywhere in Kerala, even though Kerala still has an important group of Tamil-speaking Brahmins, for instance (who in fact make up by far the larger section of the local Brahmin castes). As a consequence, even though the spoken languages remain remarkably close, the written mediums are almost totally opaque to the other community of speakers as they employ

widely different scripts. This may create a problem, for instance, when Malayalees travel to Tamil Nadu, where sign and shop name boards are exclusively in Tamil (whereas in Kerala they are usually bilingual, i.e., in both Malayalam and English). Tamil songs and movies however flow quite freely across the state borders into Kerala, Tamil songs often becoming much more popular than Malayalam ones. The language of fishing communities in South Kerala and South Tamil Nadu also remain very close to this day.¹¹

The historically recent character of this state of affairs can hardly be overstressed – before the coming of British domination just over two hundred years ago, most of what is today Kerala state had not had any common political unity for well over five hundred years (for Medieval Kerala, see Veluthat, 2009: 129-314). It is therefore somewhat hard to make a case for the existence of Malayalam as it is now before the mid- to late-eighteenth century (that is, intriguingly, the period right before the onslaught of the colonial era). Before that time, an enormous variety of local and caste language forms predominated, some of which subsist to this day, particularly in the often widely divergent spoken language forms across the state (that is the main thrust of Freeman's argument – Freeman, 2003).¹² In fact, these can be so different from each other that mutual intelligibility is often compromised the further the speaker travels from her original birth area. In these cases, resource is invariably made to the standard medium. Below I will come back to the issue of multilingualism in Kerala.

Local languages

As a historian of languages and a specialist in multilingualism, naturally enough my sympathy is on the side of the local languages (often called “vernaculars” or, in the case of South Africa, also “indigenous” languages).¹³ I am generally in favour of mother-

11 Nalini and Nandan Kumar, Protsahan, Trivandrum, personal communication, April 2009.

12 Freeman's excellent analysis is more than faintly orientalist in its condemnation of the idea of a Malayalam language going back many centuries. Unsurprisingly, local scholars have a different perspective – see the Kerala chapters in Veluthat, 2009 and Namboodiri, 2004 as well as Varier, 2007.

13 *Bhasa* – a Sanskrit-derived term with counterparts in Malayalam and other Indian languages – is often used in India to denote such languages. It implies, however, a

tongue education, for instance, provided that it allows the student to become multilingual – as well as proficient in the only language we have that approaches, even though very imperfectly, the status of a widely accepted international medium, namely, English, whether or not this was the colonial language in a given country. However, being in favour of mother-tongue education invariably means, in my own country (Brazil), as well as in South Africa and India, being in favour of the official written standard mediums currently in use. It could hardly be otherwise, as education in all three countries is of colonial origin, and is therefore ultimately patterned, however distantly, partially and imperfectly, on a European model of language as medium of instruction. This creates huge problems, as the language of instruction is quite often not familiar to students.

In Brazil, for instance, a non-standardised, semi-Creole language with many local variations is actually the mother tongue of the vast majority of the population, not Portuguese, which is the official language. This last is a local version of the Portuguese which is the official language in Portugal and half a dozen other countries across Africa and Asia.¹⁴ We could say that Brazilian Portuguese is actually a counterpart of Afrikaans in Brazil (before this last was made into an official standard medium in the 1920s) particularly as, just like Afrikaans, it is also a semi-Creole of colonial origin. From a South

hierarchy – in some prestigious local language discourses *bhasa* is the “debased” spoken language in contrast to the exalted language of Sanskrit (Sawhney, 2009). “Vernacular” comes from a Latin word designating house slaves (sic). “Indigenous” also has problems, as Afrikaans, for instance, could claim to be an indigenous language, as it is strictly-speaking not a European language but rather a semi-Creole one of colonial origin (however, this view is not accepted by the more traditional Afrikaans academia, which sees Afrikaans as a Germanic language – for an interesting appraisal, see Roberge, 2002). “Local” is also inadequate, as English, for instance, can claim local status in India, and even more so in South Africa, where there is a largish and ancient community of mother-tongue speakers.

- 14 Namely, in decreasing order of demographic importance, Mozambique, Angola, Guiné-Bissau, Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, and, in Asia, Timor Leste and the Special Autonomous Administrative Region of Macau in the People’s Republic of China, as well as the state of Goa and Union territories of Damão and Diu in India. In India, Portuguese (and Portuguese-related Creoles) is however increasingly moribund. Needless to add that in all the above, Portuguese as a standard medium is only used by minorities ranging from small to tiny with only Angola having a fairly large Lusophone population. Both Cabo Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe are largely Creole-speaking countries, and a local Creole is also very important in Guiné-Bissau. Colonial Brazil also used to have Creole languages that are now extinct, though most of the population in fact uses varieties of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese, a semi-Creole.

African perspective, we could also say that in Brazil, the European language was kept as a standard medium – it is as if the Afrikaans-speaking population today used various non-standardised forms of Afrikaans while keeping Dutch as the standard medium. In fact, this was the situation prevailing among some communities employing Afrikaans before the start of standardisation as from the late 1910s and 1920s.

“Mother tongue” therefore, rather than a linguistic category of “scientific” inquiry, is in fact also very much a historical construct (anyone reading Herder nowadays, or Herder-like nationalist imaginings on language, can notice that – for South Africa, see for instance the work of C. J. Langenhoven, 1912. See also Pienaar, 1917). To say that Portuguese (or even “Brazilian Portuguese”, a construct that has however enjoyed almost no official recognition on the part of the Brazilian state) is the mother tongue of the vast majority of Brazilians can only be true if we concomitantly operate a series of elisions. The first and foremost is the elision of Brazil’s complex (and still somewhat uncharted) multilingual past and present. For instance, it is quite likely that until well into the nineteenth century, not even Brazilian semi-Creoles were spoken by many inhabitants of Brazil, let alone standard Portuguese. Besides a plethora of indigenous languages (about 180 of which are still spoken by around 3% to 4% of Brazil’s population), several African languages were also spoken, particularly Yoruba and “Bantu” languages such as Kikongo and Kimbundo (nowadays only Yoruba survives to a very limited degree).¹⁵ To this day, many common words of Angolan “Bantu” origin are part and parcel of both spoken and written Brazilian Portuguese, such as *quitanda* (greengrocer’s), *quitute* (sweet), *moleque* (“brat”) and so on.¹⁶ There are also a vast number of words that have come from indigenous languages.

15 The denomination “Bantu” in Lusophone (and also Francophone) countries, African countries included, has not been abandoned as in South Africa, not even in academic circles. Angolan, Brazilian and Mozambican scholars therefore can refer to Bantu languages and peoples quite freely. As a consequence, the opprobrium that the colonial and then the apartheid state have caused to be thrown onto the use of the term in South Africa does not necessarily obtain in those countries (See for instance Ngunga, 2004).

16 See for instance Lopes (2006). For data – and maps – on indigenous languages in Brazil, see Ilari and Baso (2006: 90-93). I am grateful to Claudia Wanderley at the University of Campinas for this reference.

To compound matters, not only are there languages of immigrant origin such as Arabic or German that persist in many communities well over a century after immigrants speaking those languages first arrived in the country, but it is quite likely that the second most widely spoken language in Brazil nowadays is Japanese. Japanese immigration is just over a century old (having started in 1908), and the Japanese were hardly ever the largest immigrant group anywhere in Brazil. However, continuing ties to Japan – with a fairly large percentage of Japanese descendants spending part of their lives in Japan partly due to economic advantages – as well as a strong community desire to keep the language, have made a place for Japanese that hardly any other immigrant language has enjoyed to the same degree. It should be also noted that there is a growing number of non-Japanese Brazilians who also learn the language through association with the Japanese-Brazilian community and travel to Japan (say, as spouses or companions of Japanese-Brazilians), or through their attraction to aspects of Japanese culture that have held wide popular appeal in Brazil over the years (such as anime movies or manga).¹⁷

Therefore, though there is no official recognition whatsoever of the fact, the Brazilian state being historically an active supporter of the historical construct of Portuguese as both the official language and mother tongue of Brazilians (largish communities of immigrant origin and indigenous populations notwithstanding), Brazil can also be said to be a multilingual nation. This is so even though this multilingual character admittedly used to be much more visible in the past than it is nowadays. The mother tongue as a historical construct, linked to the European-derived standard medium as another and allied historical construct, have therefore had enormous weight in Brazilian history, a situation that parallels that prevailing elsewhere in Latin America – perhaps first and foremost in neighbouring Argentina and Uruguay. It should be noted however that the notion that Argentinean and Spain's Spanish diverge considerably is quite well-entrenched in Argentina, as luminaries such as Jorge Luis Borges used to acknowledge. However, as far as I know, nobody has ever proposed that Argentineans call their language a different name,

¹⁷ On the movement of people between Brazil and Japan in recent times as well as the enormous cultural importance of this link, see Sasaki (2009).

a proposal that many an intellectual and linguist has put forth in Brazil at various points since the nineteenth century.¹⁸

Education and multilingualism

This brings us to the issue of education and multilingualism, perhaps one of the thorniest and most difficult issues facing many postcolonial states nowadays. If the school, as an ultimately colonial creation, necessitates both the construct of the mother tongue *and* that of the standard medium, then perhaps there is little room left for manoeuvring towards a more non-hierarchical, empowering multilingualism. If the apex of the education system – namely, tertiary institutions and, more specifically, universities that are also important research institutions – is taken into consideration, then the trend towards monolingualism becomes painfully clear in such multilingual societies as Brazil, India, and South Africa. Those countries also happen to have well-developed and fairly cosmopolitan academias. This predicament obtains even though both India and South Africa have had a modicum of experience in using languages other than English as medium of instruction at university level. In South Africa, that experience has been considerably restricted and watered down in the post-apartheid era, clearly pointing to an era where English will possibly be almost the sole medium of instruction available.¹⁹ In Brazil, where there is strictly-speaking no comparable experience, nowadays the best universities are grappling with the fact that if students cannot be made to read at least a modicum of materials in English before they enter postgraduate studies, it is unlikely that even the field of Brazilian studies will be able to maintain a minimally cosmopolitan profile in the long run. This is so in part because we have reached a stage where Brazilian studies internationally (and at times even nationally) are as likely to be

18 I am grateful to Claudia Wanderley with the University of Campinas for having reminded me of this. In the past one hundred and fifty years or more, a “Brazilian” language has been variously understood by different people either as an Indian language or *lingua franca* or else as a variety of Portuguese, creolised or not, spoken in Brazil. All of these linguistic projects have been historically unsuccessful, except sometimes in the more strictly literary domain.

19 Differently to South Africa, however, where only Afrikaans has attained the level of language of instruction at tertiary level, in India several languages have that status, such as Hindi, Tamil, Kannada and so on. In Sri Lanka, both Sinhala and Tamil are used at local universities, though at different institutions.

carried out in English as in Portuguese.²⁰

As the academic translation industry is ultimately both limited and underfunded in Brazil, it is hard to see how local academia will keep its high standards in the long run without resorting to at least a large degree of proficiency in reading English. Already there is a definitely provincial air to much that is done in Brazilian academic circles. It is hard to believe that this is not at least in part linked to a late (usually only in postgraduate studies, if at all) or imperfect degree of proficiency in English. For the better or for the worse, English is currently the best language in which a widely varied amount of specialised literature is present, either in original form or in translation. This is increasingly so, even for regions of the world which are not of British colonial origin, such as Francophone and Lusophone Africa, Latin America and the Hispanic and Francophone Caribbean as well as parts of the Middle East and Asia. Here English is not important as yet another colonising medium, but rather as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge through more extended transnational networks, also including both Africa and Asia.

Also, last but not least, a good deal of India-derived or India-based theorising, not to mention Indian literary products, is spreading across the world almost solely through the medium of English or at least translations from English. This is particularly interesting as the very recently deceased Meenakshi Mukherjee (2000) and others have pointed out (Ahmad, 1992) that Indian novels in languages other than English, even when translated, are not successful in the West. Though mostly restricted to academia and to somewhat specialised and therefore restricted classes of readers (except for fiction), this trend is perhaps already important enough to warrant a rethinking of the role of English, at least partially based on the need to access Indian literature in that language. Except in very wealthy countries with largish populations and well-entrenched reading habits and reading classes, it is hard to see how local translation industries will cope with the increasing demand for a much more varied range of

20 A transnational university for at least three Mercosur countries, namely, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, is in the process of being set up on the common border of all three countries. It is to be minimally bilingual, i.e., both Spanish and Portuguese being used as languages of instruction. There is an old tradition at some Brazilian universities that allows Latin American students to write dissertations in Spanish, should they wish to do so.

literature. In this environment, it means that particularly French, German, and Japanese, but also Dutch, Swedish and other readers will have more or less ready access to a good deal of literature, whereas other readers will suffer considerably.

This is so because countries like Brazil, to this day, have only imperfect or even no access to large chunks of what is being circulated in English and other languages. For instance, in Brazil someone interested in, say, Indonesian or Turkish fiction, is left with practically nothing to read. I cannot recollect any Indonesian author translated and published in Brazil, and the only Turkish author so far seems to be Orhan Pamuk. That this last was translated because of his wide appeal for a European readership and a Nobel Prize hardly seems worth mentioning. It is also not worth mentioning that, naturally enough, the translations of his work were made by collating English and French translations, as no Turkish literary translator is available in Brazil (we have however at least one Albanian translator, what has ensured that Ismail Kadaré's works have been translated directly from the original).²¹

It should be added to this, the fact that to this day there is no world-wide Portuguese language publishing industry.²² There is therefore, for instance, no counterpart to the age-old Oxford University Press in the Lusophone world. Also, books are a very expensive consumer product in Brazil. In 2007, while shopping for books by Orhan Pamuk, for instance, I have found out that the Spanish, German, English, Italian, and French translations of Pamuk's works available in a large bookshop in São Paulo were all cheaper than the Brazilian translations of the same works. Books published in Portugal for instance are both very hard to find and extremely expensive (the Portugal-made translations of Pamuk's works were therefore even more expensive than Brazilian ones). Books published in Angola or Mozambique are virtually impossible to find in local bookshops in Brazil. I have never come across a book published in Macau, China, in a Brazilian bookshop during an entire life of shopping for books,

21 The importance of this can hardly be overstated – it is not hard to believe that Walter Salles, as cosmopolitan a film-maker as he certainly is, would have made his *Abril Despedaçado* [Shattered April] had one of Kadaré's most important works – on which the film is based – never been translated in Brazil. See Ismail Kadaré (2001).

22 A recent simultaneous publication of Mia Couto's work in Brazil, Portugal, and Mozambique is therefore a pioneering and unique effort.

even though Macau does have a modest publishing industry. In the Lusophone world outside of Portugal, therefore, books are still very much a luxury item, especially if they are translated novels.

Naturally, all the above refers to the highly privileged end of the Lusophone sphere – countries such as Guiné-Bissau and São Tomé e Príncipe, not to mention Timor Leste in Southeast Asia, for instance, hardly have the luxury of well-stocked bookshops, extensive libraries, widespread Internet connections, and so forth. They are Lusophone practically in name only. With small populations, small territories, a precarious state apparatus, a depressed economy, and tiny budgets for education, as well as, particularly in the case of Timor Leste, a very high degree of geographical isolation from other Lusophone countries, the postcolonial dilemmas of official language education and mother-tongue education are almost luxury items in their political agendas, let alone translation and publishing.²³

It is therefore not impossible that at least some indigenous communities in Brazil, comparatively disadvantaged as they are, may still enjoy a higher quality and degree of mother-tongue education than many citizens of those countries. It is not altogether fortuitous that the influence of English in Timor Leste and French in Guiné-Bissau have been on the rise for some time now, as the former is much closer to Australia than to any Lusophone territory (the nearest being far away Macau), whereas the latter, though connected historically to the neighbouring Cape Verde islands, is surrounded by two larger Francophone neighbours, namely, Guinea and Senegal. Another factor that has to be borne in mind is that both the Australian and the French governments have more funds and are much more proactive than either the Brazilian or Portuguese governments (the only two Lusophone governments so far with an active interest in spreading the Portuguese language outside their borders and the funds to attempt to do so).²⁴

23 I am grateful to Claudia Wanderley for information on the small Lusophone countries in Africa. She has been working with partners in those countries as part of the Unesco Chair in Multilingualism and the Digital World at the University of Campinas.

24 It does not need stressing that Guiné-Bissau also shares with its two neighbours a great number of local languages as these invariably straddle postcolonial borders which in the Senegambian region have always been particularly porous (Alain Pascal Kaly, University of Campinas, personal communication). Of course, the same happens between Timor Leste and West Timor in Indonesia.

In Macau, the handover to China ten years ago has been ominous for Portuguese in the territory: the last extant Portuguese-medium school there turned bilingual (i.e. both English and Portuguese) in 2008. Macau, however, has an important resource that virtually no other formerly Lusophone territory in Asia or Africa has had, namely, a comparatively wealthy, though very small, population. This may help the survival of Portuguese there, even if only within restricted circles, well after it has become extinct or moribund in the rest of Asia. Compare the situation in Macau with the losing battle to keep Portuguese as an official language in Timor Leste, for instance. In this last, soon the fate of Portuguese will probably resemble that of Spanish in the Philippines, namely, a language with little more than official status and minimal appeal except for very small numbers of people as well as historians and other antiquarians.²⁵

In Goa, India, the fate of Portuguese after the Indian annexation in 1961 is almost too sad a story to dwell upon here (for an account based on the colonial period, see Pinto, 2007). It is not altogether impossible that the language will become practically extinct there in a couple of decades, after having survived for five long centuries.²⁶ In Kerala, South India, several Creoles lexically based on Portuguese have recently become extinct, though at least one such Creole survives today in neighbouring Sri Lanka. A local Creole in Macau is also fast becoming extinct, though various Lusophone-related Creoles survive in small or tiny communities in both Malaysia and Indonesia.²⁷

25 I visited the Philippines in May 1983, thanks to the good offices of Maria Rosario Piquero of the sociology department of the University of the Philippines, as well as Eufrazio Abaya from the anthropology department of the same university. During a stay of over forty days, only once or twice could I speak Spanish in the country outside the Spanish language department of the university! However, quite a few Filipinos would gladly conjugate the verb *cantar* (to sing) for me in the present indicative, as they had had Spanish lessons during their schooling.

26 Interestingly, there is a historical precedent for that in India in the fate of Persian, a language that was equally resilient among small but prestigious elites for about half a millennium before rapidly falling into disuse after the mid-nineteenth century. Persian also used to be the administrative language of the Moghul Empire and was widely employed by the English East India Company as well. Interestingly, just as is the case with Anglophone Indian writers nowadays, in past centuries, Indian Persian-speaking poets and intellectuals also excelled in Persian writing.

27 See the maps and summary description of the INVASIA Project of the Inter-University Institute of Macau (www.iiu.edu.mo, link "Research at IIUM"). The project concerns Lusophone-based Creoles spoken in Southeast Asia, including Macau. It aims at making

English and local languages

Therefore, the historian of languages as well as the specialist in multilingualism is faced with very complex historical processes that often pull in different directions: the construction of mother tongues, of mediums of instruction, of official languages, of standard literary languages, and of Creoles, besides Anglicization (understood mainly as the spread of English either as a local or as an international language) and, last but not least, the processes of language extinction. These can affect any language, from formerly highly prestigious colonial languages such as Dutch in South Africa and Portuguese in various Asian territories, as well as Creoles of colonial origin, to diverse indigenous languages (for instance, almost all the Khoisan languages in South African, as well as most indigenous languages in Brazil, are no longer spoken).²⁸ Moreover, each of these processes may hybridise and overlap with the others in various and shifting ways across time, creating a great variety of local conditions.

In this way, Portuguese is for instance highly prestigious and dominant inside Brazil in relation to both indigenous and immigrant languages, as well as in relation to local varieties of semi-Creole. Though the standard medium cannot be considered to be very widespread as perhaps most people do not really master it well (or even at all),²⁹ it can hardly be called a threatened language - unlike, for instance, Portuguese in Asia. However, the somewhat modest status of the language internationally vis-à-vis not only English, but also, say, Spanish, creates a certain amount of anxiety, especially

an inventory of those Creoles as well as finding ways of preserving them and related cultural heritage.

28 On Khoisan languages, see Traill (2002).

29 Stella Maris Bortoni, a linguist with the University of Brasília, has brought up some appalling statistics in her work showing that as many as 75% of all people who are 18 years old or above in Brazil cannot be considered to be proficient in the official language. Seeing as since about ten years ago almost every child of school-going age has, for the first time in Brazilian history, actually been attending a school, this statistic is indeed very scary. It virtually points to a huge failure on the part of the school system. I am grateful to Claudia Wanderley from the University of Campinas for calling my attention to Bortoni's work, though I have been unable to peruse it myself. This failure reminds one of Paulo Freire's (of *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* fame) futile attempts at using his teaching method in revolutionary post-independence Guiné-Bissau exactly because he tried to use the official language (it is estimated by www.ethnologue.com that only about 6% of that country's population is actually proficient in written Portuguese, just over 10% speak Portuguese).

among the learned elite and in academia. This in turn is often reflected in resistance to any requirement that seems to impose the reading of materials in English or even making learning the language compulsory in more than a slapdash fashion (as is usually the case in most schools and universities). I have experimented with both bilingual teaching and teaching through English language materials in Brazil. This has generated a good deal of both resistance and incomprehension on the part of both students and colleagues. Not even in postgraduate school is reading English (let alone speaking it) a matter of course. In my experience, even at top universities students are often fairly hesitant, slow readers.³⁰ Close reading is almost impossible (once it took my postgraduate students over two weeks to thoroughly go through a 35-page article). The matter is only made worse when French is added as a requirement, as is the case with doctoral courses, for proficiency in French nowadays is even lower than in English.

That anxiety is also, of course, related to resistance against depicting Brazil as a multilingual country, where English, Spanish, and many other languages would have to be acknowledged in some way in the public sphere.³¹ Moreover, ultimately this also reflects a deep-rooted suspicion on the part of some groups towards the inevitable heterogeneity of the nation-state, as well as a suspicion of cosmopolitanism as containing some kind of imposition or hidden agenda. This is particularly so when the use of English, more often than not associated with former British imperialism in Latin America and today's dwindling but still overbearing American hegemony,

30 That is the exact opposite of what used to happen in my parents' generation, though nowadays the number of people involved in learning either language is far greater than before. However, today Spanish rather than French is the second most widely taught foreign language. Because of its closeness to Portuguese, it is nonetheless seldom accepted as a compulsory language in postgraduate studies at prestigious institutions.

31 This is not necessarily an international phenomenon. Incidentally, while I studied in Japan between 1982 and 1984 at Tokyo University, I was quite impressed by the number of scholars and students who devoted themselves to learning an amazing array of foreign languages. Both Tokyo and Osaka have a University of Foreign Languages offering anything from Burmese to Mongolian. While a visiting lecturer at Kyoto University, Arunima Gopinath from Jawarhalal Nehru University in New Delhi was also impressed by the proficiency of her Japanese colleagues who could each speak one Indian language well (whereas nowadays the typical Western scholar of India is more often than not incapable of making himself understood in any local language). Gopinath, personal communication, Jawarhalal Nehru University, June 2009.

comes into play.³² The fact that academics hold, to some extent, a monopoly on knowledge (and to a large extent of disciplinary knowledge) because of their privileged access to both foreign language publications and overseas institutions only compounds the matter. The typical role for a Brazilian scholar and lecturer in this situation is hardly ever more than that of an intermediary between non-Lusophone knowledge generated abroad in a variety of European languages (almost only English, French, and to a much lesser degree, Spanish, Italian, and German), and the Lusophone public they cater for, including non-academics and colleagues in less prestigious institutions (who may be less multilingual in some cases). A lesser function for which there is a modicum of demand abroad is that of interpreter of the nation-state and aspects of its culture and history for foreign, usually academic, audiences (often invitations to be a visiting lecturer at institutions in the United States and Europe are closely linked to this last function). This comparatively shaky hold on cosmopolitanism framed by both the nation-state and skewed international relations mostly along the north-south axis bodes ill for multilingualism.

Differently to some Indian, but similarly to South African colleagues, Brazilian scholars have, not unsurprisingly, usually not ventured much beyond the confines of Western-derived forms of knowledge. Also, though the postcolonial critiques coming out of India have sometimes caught the attention of scholars in both Brazil and South Africa, they have not generated any local counterparts that are similarly prestigious. Many scholars in Brazil and funding agencies alike seem to believe that a combination of geographical location and language barrier have conspired to bring about a predicament where Brazilian scholarship does not travel well beyond the national borders. However, the example of South Africa – with a mostly English-medium academia – shows that, geography apart, the language barrier is in fact less important here than is usually assumed.³³ India also shows that publishing in English does not

32 Few outsiders to some of the continent's academic cultures can actually gage the importance of this political factor when English comes into play. The language's association with both Asia and Africa is secondary in many people's minds to this day.

33 Interestingly, Afrikaans academia in South Africa has also failed to create a successful alternative postcolonial critique.

necessarily ensure visibility beyond restricted circles.

An important clue here is that the enormously vibrant and truly kaleidoscopic intellectual culture of Indian academia seems to be comparatively lacking in either Brazil or South Africa. In both countries, a couple of strong ideological warring camps are often at loggerheads with each other, apparently precluding the rise of alternative voices and intellectual formations – or at least making their emergence, let alone their consolidation, exceedingly more difficult than seems to be the case in India. This last, in spite of its entrenched and enduring inequalities and widespread discriminatory practices, nonetheless seems to generate a good deal of dissonant, divergent voices. This predicament is certainly related to the much more powerful imprint of colonial cultures in either Brazil or South Africa than in the case of India. This difference may also be related to India's much larger and more complex social environment (India's population is at least four times that of both Brazil and South Africa combined) as well as to a much more complex and well-entrenched pre-colonial heritage, based on very extensive ancient contacts with other cultures and peoples, next to which the colonial era may seem only a late and comparatively short chapter.³⁴

Perhaps here is the place to come back to the language issue, which has been central to colonialism and postcolonial imaginings and social practices in all three countries. Differently to either Brazil or South Africa, India has had very vibrant and internally highly diversified local language spheres where everything, from journalism to novels to academic papers can be found, often in great abundance and variety. Malayalam is a case in point (and so is Bengali, for instance). In fact, English language writing to this day, varied as it may be, is certainly just the tip of the iceberg of Indian intellectual and popular cultures. To this day, a successful novel in one of the major Indian languages probably has a potentially larger readership than a novel written in English inside India. In Kerala, I have noticed that local novelists writing in Malayalam are far

³⁴ See Lalu (2008) and Brito Júnior (2001, 2007) for recent critiques of colonial ideologies (including in postcolonial times) in respectively South Africa and Brazil. In terms of ancient contacts and creolization of all kinds, Kerala's history is particularly fascinating for an outsider. For instance, there is evidence that Kerala traded extensively with both the Roman and the Chinese empires over two thousand years ago (see for instance the archaeological work of the Kerala Historiographical Society in Kodungallur).

more widely read than novelists writing in English. Even Arundhati Roy's famous *God of Small Things* is almost certainly much more talked about than actually read (there is to this day no Malayalam translation). Roy is a Malayalee from a village near Kottayam, in South Kerala, which serves as the stage for most of her narrative. Not a few Indian intellectuals have been deeply rooted in local language spheres either through their formative years or else through their private lives. Even very Anglophone scholars often know at least how to read their mother tongues, even though they may never publish a line in it for lack of sufficient writing skills. Moreover, even if they only speak it and never read a newspaper column in it, it is still potentially a source of considerable influence as India's performance arts and oral cultures are very much alive. Also, even highly "Westernised" and cosmopolitan scholars in India lead fairly communal lives to this day, as they remain, more often than not, deeply rooted in extended family and regional cultures of various kinds that place diverse demands on them (particularly if they are women).

This is far from an inconsiderable detail, fairly invisible as it may be from an outsider's perspective – namely, the differential impact of the colonial language upon literate and oral cultures of ultimately pre-colonial origin. For various reasons, the impact of colonial languages in India – huge as it has been – has not precluded the advancement of diverse local languages, several of which contain intellectual spheres that are sometimes centuries old (or even millennia old, as in the case of the official classical languages, namely, Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu).³⁵ This fact is usually not sufficiently stressed outside India. Nor is it much noticed that some scholars, as, for instance, Gayatri Spivak, continue to both publish in their mother tongues (in her case Bengali) as well as translate from it. They therefore take part in a vibrant language sphere that is far in excess of that provided by the colonial language either locally or internationally. This fact affects for instance the literary production of Indian writers writing in English.³⁶

35 The Indian government declared those languages classical languages (and allocated funds to each of them) last year (2008). Sanil, V., Delhi University, personal communication, November 2008.

36 See for instance Gayatri Spivak's translation of Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and his Arrow* (Devi, 2002).

In her well-known analysis of English language writing in India, Meenaskhi Mukherjee shows that the literary quality of the works of both Amitav Ghosh and Vikram Seth have been highly influenced by the multilingual abilities of the writers (who between them know half a dozen different languages, ranging from different kinds of Arabic and Hebrew as well as Hindi in the case of Ghosh to both Hindi and German in the case of Seth).³⁷ A colleague in Kerala – G. Devika with the Centre for Development Studies in Trivandrum – has pointed out to me that Arundhati Roy’s novel also depends to a degree on stylistic effects directly traceable to Malayalam (and which have therefore totally eluded Anglophone critics who do not know the language), as for instance when the twins talk to each other through several kinds of language play.

That a measure of literary genius in English should be directly traceable to Indian language backgrounds (that often remain hidden in the narrative to the reader who is not proficient in an Indian language) is a tribute to the vibrancy of India’s local language spheres. Concomitantly, as Mukherjee points out, in the case of at least some (though by no means all) English language writers, a certain exoticising of India, and a certain stress on colonial and nationalist representations (for instance, of the conflict between “East” and “West” or of the nation-state called India) are directly traceable to the language being employed – a language that has the paradoxical postcolonial status of being local in India but not really rooted anywhere in the country.³⁸ They may also be traceable to a lack of knowledge of Indian languages – in fact, Mukherjee goes as far as stating that writing in English is for the writers concerned not really a choice, as their proficiency in their local tongues is either nil or poor, especially as far as the written medium is concerned.

Interestingly, she also notes that the work of some writers – such as Rushdie (an Urdu-speaking Indian who writes only in English) – do not read well in translation. Namely, when their works are translated into Indian languages, the text does not read as smoothly as the original. This is however not the case, for instance, with Vikram

37 Meenakshi Mukherjee (2000). See particularly chapter 9 on the “Anxiety of Indianness”.

38 English in South Africa has a comparable position, even though it can be identified with a couple of mostly large urban centres.

Seth's *A Suitable Boy*, which reads equally well both in English and in Hindi translation. Mukherjee traces this felicity in translation to the fact that there are many Hindi and local inflexions *already* in the English-language original, something that does not always happen with other writing coming out of India.

English and languages in Kerala

In Kerala, education in either English or Malayalam is now on offer to students. However, as a colleague has pointed out to me, this has meant, particularly for the less privileged strata (in his case children of day labourers in a government college) that they are proficient in neither one nor the other language.³⁹ As tertiary and other educational institutions in India crumble down (the universities are in particularly bad shape right now), new generations of students emerge who cannot function well in any language on a formal level. I have often heard from young people in Kerala that “Malayalam is very difficult”. They are not saying that to me as a foreigner trying to learn Malayalam (though Malayalees often almost gleefully acknowledge that their language is indeed very difficult, and that it is even India’s most difficult language). They are in fact saying that the standard medium is a very difficult language that they had trouble mastering. Famously, both Malayalam and Tamil have widely divergent written and spoken mediums (Nambisan, 2009). My young friends were almost all middle-class and therefore comparatively well-off (namely, they usually did not have to work for a living). When I would ask some of them to write down something for me in Malayalam, often two or three of them would pour over my notebook for a short while discussing how a word or a sentence should be properly written. My impression is that they did not exactly have the written language at the tip of their fingers. Interestingly, I also met young men who claimed to be studying English at university level. This claim was very interesting as it was sometimes made by people who could not talk in English at all (I have therefore used interpreters to talk to them). Upon closer inspection, by education in English they meant not necessarily education in the English

³⁹ Nandan Kumar, personal communication. Nandan works as a lecturer at a government college in Trivandrum, Kerala, where he teaches geography. He is a Canada-trained scholar.

language, but through the medium of English, especially by using textbooks in English. The teaching is therefore done in a bilingual manner, in a somewhat haphazard way.⁴⁰

In comparison to South Africa, in Kerala few people really seem to have an excellent command of English. Even university lecturers seemed at times to be not very proficient, though Malayalam is not supposed to be a medium of instruction at tertiary level. As noted above, at least in the case of students, this does not however mean that they excel in Malayalam. A situation has therefore arisen whereby the written medium, whether it is English or Malayalam, is poorly mastered. A variety of languages also come into play here, as Hindi songs and movies, Tamil songs and movies, and of course songs and movies in English, hold a wide appeal. Real mastery of Hindi, for instance, is however quite limited, and as mentioned above, Tamil is only mastered as a spoken language (and imperfectly at that – the proverbial figure of the Malayalee who speaks poor Tamil being a common character in Tamil Nadu). More complexly, Sanskrit, though only really mastered by tiny groups of people (often religious specialists and scholars), has historically yielded an enormous influence on Malayalam. The whole of Malayalam grammar and linguistic meta-language is still heavily influenced by Sanskrit linguistic models.

This is shown for instance by the classic works of Rajaraja Varma (2007 and 2008), originally published over a hundred years ago, and more recently, for instance, by that of K. Mary (2009). Particularly in the north of Kerala, Arabic-influenced Malayalam is also present, as is, of course, Arabic (though, again, as in the case of Sanskrit, its most common users are tiny groups of religious specialists and scholars). In Central Kerala there are groups of Christian priests – invariably men – who master Syriac, a language related to Arabic and Hebrew and used in liturgy and religious learning but, unlike Arabic and Sanskrit, not usually taught to lay people. Hebrew also used to be spoken and written in Kerala until just over half a century ago (when most Kerala Jews immigrated to Israel). Unsurprisingly, through the centuries, Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac have often been written down in the Grantha script used by Malayalam (originally

⁴⁰ Of course, there is also the possibility – a very real one, as it turns out – that the teaching is so bad or erratic anyway that the language of instruction hardly matters.

devised to write Sanskrit in South India) as well as in various more ancient local scripts now fallen into disuse.

Moreover, these are not the only languages in Kerala, as there are also the so-called “tribal” languages in the mountain areas (all of them Dravidian languages just as Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu).⁴¹ In the far north of Kerala, Tulu, a Dravidian language that is neither an official language of the State nor a “tribal” language, is also spoken by a minority (Mangalore, in the neighbouring state of Karnataka immediately across the border from Kerala, is the centre of historical Tulunad). Through the centuries, there have also been Portuguese Creole-speaking minorities on the various coastal towns, all of which have turned to Malayalam nowadays. Urdu – a language closely related to Hindi but usually only claimed by Muslims – has also had a modicum of importance among the Muslim population in Kerala. There is for instance an Urdu-Malayalam dictionary. Together with Hindi-Malayalam dictionaries, this is the only instance I have come across of a Malayalam dictionary including another modern Indian language. Sanskrit-Malayalam dictionaries are of course very common, and there are also Arabic-Malayalam dictionaries as well as Syriac-Malayalam ones.⁴²

Therefore, Kerala has had a varied multilingual history that is still reflected nowadays in local usage and language practices to a fairly large degree as Malayalees listen to both Hindi and Tamil songs, besides English and Malayalam ones, and watch movies in Malayalam, Tamil, Hindi and English (always invariably without any subtitles. In Brazil, for instance, the screening of foreign movies without subtitles is nearly impossible. Occasionally subtitles may even be used for movies coming out of Portugal, as it is felt that the spoken language there may differ too much from the varieties of Brazilian Portuguese). Also, this incredibly varied linguistic environment clearly has deep roots in the pre-colonial era, when not

41 Differently to South Africa and other parts of Africa, “tribal” is widely used in India, including in official parlance (where some officially protected groups are called “scheduled Tribes”).

42 The first vocabularies and dictionaries were compiled by missionaries. That means that the first Malayalam lexicographical works included Portuguese. Interestingly, missionaries – at first Catholic, and later also Protestant – were also responsible for bolstering the use of Syriac in the local Christian churches. In 1872, Herman Gundert, a German missionary and linguist, published his famous Malayalam-English dictionary that is still in print nowadays.

even a standard form of Malayalam existed until the very threshold of the colonial era in the late eighteenth century (that is, if we are to follow Freeman, 2003).

Needless to say, English has influenced Malayalam to such a large degree in the past two hundred years that the sheer inventorying of its impact is quite difficult to carry out.⁴³ For instance, Latin American authors have been routinely translated into Malayalam, from both Spanish and (much less commonly) Portuguese, but always invariably through an English translation. I have discovered that knowledge of Latin American fiction among Malayalees who read books is generally far higher than among South Africans of comparable education and background. In one instance the works of Guimarães Rosa, a writer that is iconic in modern Brazilian literature but not much known outside the country, were mentioned in an Ernakulam bookshop.⁴⁴ The same bookshop also had a copy of Fernando Pessoa's *O Livro do Desassossego* in English translation (*The Book of Disquiet*). Pessoa is the foremost modern poet in the Lusophone world.⁴⁵ English therefore has acted as a doorway towards other languages, much in the same way as it does (together with French and Spanish) in Brazil when little-known literatures come into play.

Except for a modicum of translations directly from the French or German, or, more adventurously, from the Arabic, as well as other languages, Malayalam translations are usually made from English translations. Naturally enough, Malayalam also has a long and varied (and as far as could be ascertained still little studied) tradition of translating novels and other works from other Indian languages (a tradition that does not necessarily exist to the same

43 Malayalam's case in this regard is far from exceptional. In Gayatri Spivak's translation of Devi's book (Devi, 2002), the translator has made a point of underlining all English words used in the Bengali original: there is an astonishing amount of them such as "railway", "dimensions", "vote", "constable", "party", "tiffin", "pure caste-villages" (sic – p. 290), "modern", "regimes", "hurricane", "copy", "great rebel" (sic), "target", "hospital", "epidemic", "doctor", "ward", "income tax", "pocket", "ordinary", etc.

44 That is the BookPort in Ernakulam. I am grateful to Arunima Gopinath from Jawarhalal Nehru University for having directed me to their store.

45 Unni, R, a Malayalee writer whom I met at Current Books in Trivandrum in April 2009, has told me that there are translations of works by both Clarice Lispector and Machado de Assis into Malayalam published in literary journals. Assis is a foremost literary icon in Brazilian literature, and Lispector is a well-known modernist writer. Of course, the whole of Paulo Coelho's work has been translated locally.

extent and depth in other local languages).⁴⁶ Also, in pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial times, many translations have been made from Sanskrit classics. Needless to say that Malayalam's close link to English occasionally also works the other way round – in the case of Takazhi's famous novel *Chemmeen*, it was translated into over a dozen foreign languages, usually from the English translation (it was also translated into about a dozen Indian languages, directly from the Malayalam original).

Therefore, arguably Latin American and other literatures have had a great impact on local writing in Kerala, even though that impact has happened through local translations via the medium of English translations.⁴⁷ The importance of English in Kerala therefore far exceeds English language writing proper. Without English, the whole literature of Latin America (not to mention that of Portugal and other countries) would have in all likelihood been hardly accessible to Malayalees.⁴⁸ It would be interesting to do research on the history of translation in places such as, for instance, Japan and Indonesia to have a comparative view. Japan is a country that has translated fairly widely from many different languages, usually directly from the original works into Japanese. This has been so even in the case of lesser known languages, Portuguese included – in this way, quite a few Brazilian classics have been translated into Japanese over the years, including works by such luminaries as Raquel de Queiróz and Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda;⁴⁹ whereas Indonesia has employed Malay – Bahasa Indonesia – as its postcolonial official language, and

46 Meenakshi Mukherjee for instance points out somewhere in her *The Perishable Empire* that Malayalam has in fact translated much more from Bengali, for instance, than Bengali has ever translated from Malayalam. In Kerala bookshops I also came across a great deal of translated literature from both Hindi and Tamil, for instance, as well as Gujarati and other languages.

47 Savithri Rajeevan and Professor B. Rajeevan, Trivandrum, personal communication, March 2009. Savithri Rajeevan is a well-known local poet and short story writer whose Malayalam poems have been translated into both English and Swedish (Rajeevan, 2008).

48 Meenakshi Mukherjee for instance also mentions somewhere in her *The Perishable Empire* (2000) that both French and Russian literature had a great impact in India through English translations (that have then served as basis for further translations into local languages).

49 Naturally enough, quite a few Japanese works, from classic authors such as Junichiro Tanizaki and Yukio Mishima to recent ones such as Banana Yoshimoto, have also been translated in Brazil directly from the Japanese originals, thanks to the strong connection between both countries.

must have had a much tougher time putting forth translations as it lacks the comparatively vast resources and diverse language expertise extant in Japan. In this sense, Kerala, as India's most literate state (around 90% literacy),⁵⁰ was not altogether unfortunate that it has had English at its disposal. Though direct translations from other non-Indian languages into Malayam have always been carried out to some extent, it is clear that translations from English will retain the lion's share of translations far into the future, especially as limited resources and narrow language expertise will often contribute to preclude more adventurous translation projects.

In the case of Indonesia, as shown in Ki Hadjar Dewantara's work, the substitution of Malay (transmogrified by the nationalist movement into Bahasa Indonesia or Indonesian) for Dutch held many advantages – the foremost of which was unundermining the elitist character and use of the colonial language, a problem with which India – Kerala included – grapples to this day in relation to English (Rosa Ribeiro, 2004). However, it also made sure that a certain closure of the local language domain obtained in terms of access to a good deal of writing in foreign languages. This happened as Dutch, though a relatively marginal European language, has nevertheless kept through the years an output and scope of translations that almost certainly even today must exceed that of Indonesian.⁵¹ In this sense, it is doubtful that a local language such as Malayalam, spoken by over thirty million people in one of the world's less wealthy corners, will ever have the wherewithal to function like Japanese or even Malay-Indonesian. Also, unlike Tamil and a couple of other Indian languages, and Sinhala in Sri Lanka, it is not formally employed as a language of academia and tertiary education.

Interestingly, as the case of Tamil, Sinhala and even Malay-Indonesian shows, the lack of resources and the smallness of the language community (particularly evident in the case of Sinhala) did not stop governments from turning those languages into languages of tertiary education, for the better or for the worse. During a visit

50 Women are however less literate than men. Nonetheless, female literacy is a matter of utopian pride in Kerala and is fundamental to the construction of the image of a *sakshara Keralam* ("literate Kerala") (see Sreekumar, 2009: 92).

51 Dewantara predicted this problem and proposed a vast translation project in the postcolonial era (Rosa Ribeiro, 2004).

to Sri Lanka in March 2009, colleagues there linked the floundering of tertiary education in the country at least in part to the switch to Sinhala and Tamil as languages of instruction effected in the 1970s. The handful of universities who use local languages in India seem to have a very low profile internationally and even nationally. Somewhat ominously, Indonesian academia is not considered one of Asia's foremost academies. It is hard to say however that the sole or main reason for these woes is the language of instruction. A lack of resources, of multilingual capabilities as well as an insufficient degree of cosmopolitanism must also be mentioned. Also, the change to a local language – and an authoritarian regime – must have ensured that many leading and aspiring academics often left. As suggested by the case of Afrikaans and apartheid, the link between a nationalist stress on local languages and authoritarianism is one that needs perhaps more thorough research. It is not surprising that the traditional leftist position in South Africa of abhorring any talk of multilingualism and stressing English as a language of national unity has its roots partly in the movement against apartheid (and therefore against Afrikaans as well).⁵² Unfortunately, this position throws the baby out with the water, as it pays only lip service to multilingualism.

Conclusion

A good deal of more or less uncharted territory has been touched upon above. It is clear that multilingualism does not exist in a historical void, nor in a realm devoid of pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial hierarchical practices.⁵³ The equality between different languages is still an unattainable ideal in the countries briefly mentioned here, and mother-tongue education, even when attainable, is no panacea in complex and unequal postcolonial societies such as those of Kerala or Sri Lanka, not to mention South

52 Dr Shaun Viljoen, Stellenbosch University, personal communication, August 2009.

53 In Kerala, for instance, the enormous importance of Sanskrit above the local *bhasas* over the centuries should be pointed out as a pre-colonial hierarchical linguistic feature that continues to this day (see Freeman, 2002; Rajaraja Varma, 2008). In Sri Lanka, besides Sanskrit, Pali is an even more important classical language whose influence is felt to this day, at least among the majority Sinhala Buddhist population (the University of Peradeniya, for instance, has both a Sanskrit and a Pali department). For the special (and constitutionally entrenched) place of Sanskrit in the Indian postcolonial state, see the excellent study by Ramaswamy (2009).

Africa or Brazil. Multilingualism as an ideal, however, seems to be within reach as it is clearly widely practiced outside the state apparatus and formal education. One interesting path would be to carry out more thorough research on actual language practices in a variety of domains, from journalism to speech usage to various media, fiction and education. The situation on the ground usually shows a much higher degree of complexity than state ideologies and state policies allow for (not to mention many academic discourses on language). The actual language environment is also clearly much more fluid. In terms of current linguistic discourses operating in academia, it is sad to note that most of them seem to be at least partially inadequate to even describe much of what is going on, let alone carry out innovative theorising about it. The fact that languages in daily life in Kerala, for instance, not to mention South Africa, are clearly not separate wholes but instead interacting in complex webs of usage and signification, is a particularly thorny issue, from a theoretical point of view.

It becomes an even thornier issue when mother-tongue education is taken into consideration, as “mother tongue” can hardly be considered to be a non-contentious construct. The more or less enduring failure of schools and universities in places like India, Brazil, or South Africa, particularly (but not only) in what concerns the education of less privileged citizens, is also something difficult to account for theoretically, and even harder to act upon in terms of policies.

It is almost as if the colonial origin of the education system in those countries has practically doomed it in the postcolonial era, and with it the “mother tongue”, the “official language”, the “medium of instruction” and other related constructs. It is hard to see how the postcolonial school can do without the construct of a mother tongue or a standard medium recognised by the State; it is perhaps almost equally hard to see how schools can go on employing those conceptual tools as they are in the current predicament. The collapse of the Indian university system has turned countries like Australia into sellers of tertiary education for overseas students from privileged backgrounds in India.⁵⁴ Internally, the increasing

⁵⁴ On a recent visit to Australia, a South African scholar discovered that in some states (for instance, Victoria), foreign students (often Indians) are the second largest source

number of students from Scheduled Castes and Tribes who have to be provided for with vacancies at state universities has been placing yet another burden on a system that has already been long overburdened with demands of all kinds, crumbling infrastructure and a general lack of resources.⁵⁵

As in many other countries (for instance, in a good deal of Africa), demands for social justice have paradoxically, or not helped, in the demise of the university system as this last has to respond to those demands, but is seldom given additional resources needed to do so. “Poor” linguistic skills can often be part of the strain of taking on those students in a formal university environment that aspires to be strictly monolingual so as to keep its “international” standards.⁵⁶ The use of Hindi in New Delhi institutions is not allowed, for instance, though many students would clearly be more comfortable using it when they write their papers and dissertations, as well as during classroom discussions and supervision sessions (Gopinath, 2008).⁵⁷ Of course, not only do students have to write in English, but their writing skills must be very good. This places an enormous burden on supervisors and lecturers, as these are virtually called upon to become language instructors as well.

Therefore, a heightened awareness in relation to multilingualism seems to be required here. It is only to be hoped that thinkers in our postcolonial states will be able to come up not with a solution, but, hopefully, with different and novel ways to think about our common predicament. In this exercise, a particular challenge will be to provide new paths for multilingualism to be thought of and used as a boon rather than as a burden or something to be kept strictly at bay in tertiary education. This is particularly sad as inevitably this last ultimately sets the tone for the whole educational system

of income. Patricia Hayes, University of the Western Cape, personal communication, September 2009.

55 Udayan Kumar, Delhi University, personal communication, July 2009.

56 In my experience in Brazil, it is seldom that one comes across a student who requires little or no language coaching. Also, it is my experience that the humbler the student's background, the worse her language skills are, to the point that in some cases I as a lecturer simply could not do much to help (I simply did not know how). In this regard, Brazil, India, and South Africa, though they use different mediums of instruction at university level, share a comparable experience.

57 Arunima Gopinath, Jawaharlal Nehru University, personal communication, November 2008.

as far as the language of prestige and therefore of social mobility is concerned.

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Reclaiming the common sense

Solveig Maria Lehoczky Gulling

Introduction

As a teacher and a unionist in Norway from the late 1970s, I have experienced a rather huge shift in the development of the education sector. When I started my career, the development of the sector was driven by state-focused, welfare-orientated movements trying to create an educational system based on increased equality and social citizenship (Jones et al., 2008). Those who implemented it were the 1968 generation teachers who “came to think of school as an institution where democracy, cultural recognition and equal opportunity could serve as central principles” (Jones et al., 2008: 9). Arguing that development is contextual, this development can be seen as inspired by the general political and economic development trends after the Second World War (WWII) (Gulling, 2009). Then the power relations of the world lead to a regulated or curbed capitalism. The period is characterised by the concept *embedded liberalism* (Harvey, 2005).

Thirty years later, the development in general as well as in the education sector is driven by different ideas as the result of the change in the power relations after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the ensuing fall of the Soviet Union (Gulling, 2009). The ideology driving the development is called *neo-liberalism*¹ and the economic system is global capitalism (Eriksen, 2006), also described as *raw capitalism* or *predator capitalism* by its sceptics. Seen from a European context, these ideas are most clearly articulated by the European Union (EU) through their goal to become “the most competitive economy in the

1 Neo-liberalism is also called *market-liberalism* because of its emphasis on the free market forces. It is possible to say that neo-liberalism has been the hegemonic ideology worldwide for the last 25–30 years (Harvey, 2005).

world”² by reshaping the education systems in the EU countries to enable them to produce the “right” human capital (Hatcher, 2009). From a broader western perspective, the same ideas are found in Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) documents.³ The connection between education, the production of human capital and economic growth might easily lead to a more market-orientated view on education, something the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), an agreement negotiated by the World Trade Organisation (WTO), might be seen as an expression of. The agreement defines the international trade rules in services,⁴ and since education is a service, the agreement is applicable to the education sector (Bank, 2006). The three organisations mentioned can all be seen as actors influencing the education sector in a neo-liberal direction in Europe, in the OECD countries and in the countries that have included education in GATS. Countries in the south⁵ and the former Eastern Europe have been more influenced by the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which in short has led to the weakening of public education (Brock-Utne, 2008). All the organisations mentioned have had different impact areas, but similar implications, and might all be seen as important actors in the development of the education sector from the 1980s onwards.

Whereas the two latter organisations have been criticised for undemocratic implementation of their policies (see Brock-Utne 2006, 2007, 2008; Klees 2008, 2009; Samoff 1996, 2003), there is a different story when it comes to the former organisations. Although there is opposition within the member countries noting the lack of democracy within EU, OECD and WTO, their politics must be seen as the policies of the member governments. Thus, neo-liberal policies

2 Lisbon Strategy: http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/lisbon_strategy_en.htm (accessed 17 June 2009).

3 http://www.oecd.org/departement/0,3355,en_2649_34605_1_1_1_1_1,00.html (accessed 17 June 2009).

4 Article I in the GATS agreement: http://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/26-gats_01_e.htm (accessed 4 March 2009).

5 When I use the concepts *north* and *south*, I am not referring to geographic areas, but to areas defined according to the categories of human development defined by UNDP. *North* refers to the “developed” countries; the countries in the category of “high” and upper part of “middle” Human development Index (HDI). *South* refers to the “developing” countries; the countries in the category of “low” or lower part of “middle” HDI.

have been implemented by democratically elected politicians in most countries in the western part of the world during the last quarter of a century (Harvey, 2005). Within this chapter, my intention is to discuss one of many factors that might have contributed to this development, a factor that might be seen as active in the change of our way of thinking, our common sense.

The factor is a part of what Estbadi (2009) calls “the thought war”.⁶ Estbadi concentrates on the work of the think tank called Timbro in Sweden, and argues that their long-range policy was to counteract the growing radicalism of the 1970s and to influence people to think like *rightists* and to create a *rightist society*. One part of this “war” has, according to Estbadi (ibid.), been to repeat ideologically useful words in order to influence the political discussion in a special direction. Timbro is only one of many think tanks that have been active in the same period of time. According to Harvey (2005) they have simply been popping up since the early 1970s, especially in the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (US). Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) argue that such conservative think tanks and the organisations mentioned as well as philanthropic foundations, the schools of power and the mass media might be seen as important actors in the creation of a neo-liberal vocabulary that has had the potential to change the way we understand reality.

This paper is a Critical Discourse Analysis of this vocabulary. I have chosen to focus on a very few words of interest for the education sector. Firstly, I will look into some created words, secondly I will look into some that have been imported from the private into the public sector, and then I will discuss some words that have been co-opted by the neo-liberals.

“Invented” concepts

Language develops all the time. New concepts are being created to explain new technology and new ideas. This is natural. I will, however, argue that some of the “new” concepts that have been created during the last quarter of a century have had special functions; they have contributed to blurring the reality.

⁶ All translations from Norwegian in this chapter are done by the author.

Some of them have replaced “old,” controversial or discredited words. “To soften the harshness of increasingly onerous loan *conditionality*, new language and concepts were invented” (Klees, 2009: 77) such as *policy dialogue*, *country ownership* and *donor harmonization*. He argues that the Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAPs), Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) and Poverty Reduction Strategy (PSP) that have replaced some former concepts reflect a policy of little difference to that of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The latter concept, however, must be seen as what I call “invented”. Other concepts have replaced quite neutral words. In the US they use the concept *death tax* when talking about taxation of inherited property (Estbadi, 2009). Such a concept might make it easier for opponents of taxation to argue their point of view. In Sweden, Timbro has contributed to the establishing of the concept *squeezed salary structure* to make the earlier policy of keeping small differences in salary between people resemble something negative (Esbati, 2009). Additional concepts to mention are *knowledge society*, *knowledge management*, *homo economicus*, also called *economic man*, and *flexicurity*.

Another concept, that literally “has come from nowhere to be almost everywhere” (Giddens, 1999 in Crossley and Watson, 2006: 53), is *globalisation*. This part of the paper will focus on globalisation. Today this concept is used as the explanation for “everything”, something that lies behind our judgment, our possibilities and decisions. It frames our reality if we want to be able to compete in the world. Because of globalisation, the countries “have” to enter into the global market on certain conditions, their school systems “have” to be compared in international tests and their inhabitants “have” to become proficient in English, to mention three of many “haves”. The concept has become an axis that all things circle around. It is actually used as if it is a natural law.

Such a central concept is important to analyse, even if it is not easy. Crossley and Watson (2006: 53) emphasise the difficulties in defining the concept by stating that globalisation is “a complex and highly contested term – and one that is widely used but open to multiple interpretations” and that “there is a wide disagreement relating to the origins, mechanisms, significance and implications of the concept”. In this chapter I will try to answer the following

two questions: Where does the concept come from and what does it mean?

When I googled “The history of globalisation” I got 12 400 000 hits in 0,24 seconds. A short skimming of some of the articles shows a huge variety of stories describing incidents that have had global impact. According to my findings, the history of globalisation might have started when Homo sapiens wandered out of Africa 100 000 years ago, when the world religions were spread or with colonialism, to mention some of the suggestions found. These findings might question the indication by Giddens mentioned above, that the concept “has come from nowhere”. When I checked two Norwegian encyclopaedias,⁷ both from 1979, the indication of Giddens was strengthened, however. There the word globalisation did not exist as an entry word at all. My curiosity led me to the indexes of the main world history reference work in Norway⁸ from the 1980s and early 1990s. Not even there was the word globalisation mentioned. Although Eriksen (2006) also mentions the same possible historical roots of the concept as mentioned above, these findings fit well with the information given by him, that globalisation as a word got its breakthrough in the early 1980s. Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001: 1) argue that the concept globalisation, in addition to a bundle of others, “[i]n a matter of a few years [...] seems to have sprung out of nowhere”. In the case of Norway, it was mainly used in the newspaper *Aftenposten* by politicians and industry leaders who advocated the need for improved conditions for the industry to compete internationally (Eriksen, 2006). After 1990 the concept seems “to be almost everywhere”. Inspired by Eriksen (ibid.), I googled the word written with a “z” and got 106 million hits, when using an “s” I got nearly 40 million.

Even though my search on the Internet indicated old historical roots of the concept, the arguments given by the scholars, my findings in the encyclopaedias and the history reference work, indicate that the word globalisation has not been used to describe different historical occurrences with global implications before the

7 Aschehoug og Gyldendals Store Norske leksikon (1979). Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget. Bind 5: 179 and Pax Leksikon (1979). Oslo: Pax forlag. Bind 2: 520. The first one is considered the main Norwegian encyclopaedia.

8 Aschehougs verdenshistorie (1982-1993). Oslo: Aschehoug & co. Volum 1-16.

early 1990s. The reason for all the hits when googling “The history of globalisation” might be that the writers of the “globalised” world not only use the concept while explaining the present, but also have started to use it while describing the past.

What does this concept of globalisation that has entered into our vocabulary during the last few decades mean? In the 1980s it was used to explain changes within the economy and technology (Eriksen, 2006). As the concept became more common, there were several interpretations of it. I remember the talk about “the global village” in the early 90s, where globalisation was presented as a gift to the world. “Some people feel that the term simply denotes a multiplicity of international relations, personal meetings with foreign peoples and their food, clothes, languages, music and dances or the experiences of satellite broadcasting and world-wide contact via the Internet” (Brock-Utne and Garbo, 1999: 3). Other people view globalisation as a force that “radically transforms our societies – on the terms of capitalist corporations” (ibid.). Here we are at the core of the problem. “Globalisation might mean a lot, very little or different things at the same time” (Eriksen, 2006: 21). Although many scholars are careful when defining their own positions, my experiences from some comparative and international education conferences for the last couple of years have been frustrating. Discussions become blurred because the discussants put different understandings into the concept.

Eriksen (2006: 57) indicates that “the most reasonable might be to think that it is impossible to find one single term that covers all the important – and often meaningful – outlines of the world of today”. He continues to argue that “it might be better to talk about globalisations, in plural, according to what kind of circumstances we discuss; economic, technological, political, ideological, cultural or ecological” (Eriksen, 2006: 25). In other words, why not call a spade a spade? Eriksen (2006: 57) divides the concept of globalisation into different aspects, like several representatives from the social movements calling themselves the *alterglobalisation*⁹ movement, have done. From an economic aspect, we can talk about *global*

⁹ The *alterglobalisation* movement emerged as a reaction to the neo-liberal development and argues that another globalisation is possible. But in this case they use the concept in a different way than those who define globalisation as market economy.

capitalism and from an ideological aspect, *neo-liberalism*. *Privatisation, liberalisation and monopolisation* are all central aspects of globalisation. The same are *tax havens, launder, international drug dealing and fraud*,¹⁰ which might be covered by the joint designation crime. Still others are *polarising, marginalisation and imperialism*, all aspects that describe the economic and social inequalities that follow the so-called globalisation. While talking about military power that is used around the world, particularly that of the US, the concept *militarism* can be used. *Imperialism* is another aspect that covers the rivalry between states, multilateral companies and classes. The reason for this rivalry is often oil and natural resources, so “*globalisation*” might be used as a concept while describing that special aspect of globalisation.

“If somebody yet insists to use one concept, why not use the concept *global apartheid*, like the Egyptian economist and activist Samir Amin has suggested” (Eriksen, 2006: 57)? Thus, statistics of the growing gap that has developed during the last 25 years or so between those who have and those who have not is quite clear. According to UNDP (1992: 34), the gap has grown from 30:1 in 1960 to 59:1 in 1989 and further to 74:1 in 1992 (UNDP, 1999 in Harvey, 2005: 19). The gap is visualised by the *Champagne Glass*, as printed in *Human Development Report 1992* (UNDP, 1992: 35). The gap has not only been widening between countries in the north and south, but also within countries. As an example, the Gini coefficient of Norway shows a rise from 0,24 in 1994 to 0,33 in 2005 (Wahl, 2009: 132). The neo-liberal global capitalism has led to a redistribution of wealth between the rich and the poor without parallel. In the US, this retribution, at the time when Harvey (2005) wrote his book, was at the same level as before the crack in 1929. “Redistributive effects and increasing social inequality have in fact been such a persistent feature of neoliberalisation as to be regarded as structural to the whole project” (ibid.: 19).

Freire (1996) urges us to name the world in order to understand it. Some scholars often mention the social movements as important counter-hegemonic voices while criticising the present development, such as Klees (2009) and Arnove (2009). Why not learn from the social movements when naming the world?

10 Eriksen uses the example of what happened in Enron when explaining what he means by fraud. Post-2008, one has no problem finding other examples!

“Imported” concepts

One of the consequences of the period of neo-liberalism has been an unregulated capitalist economy that has represented a massive attack on the public sector in the north and the south. For one thing, economic models like the New Public Management (NPM) and similar models have been introduced to the public sector. “NPM is the transfer of business and market principles and management techniques from the private into the public sector, symbiotic with and based on neo-liberal understanding of state and economy” (Drechsler, 2005: 1).

Alongside these economic models, a whole set of concepts from the business sector have crept into the vocabulary of the public sector in general, such as *cost benefit*, *cost effectiveness*, *efficiency*, *resource allocation*, *knowledge management*, and *clearinghouse*, to mention but a few. The latter concept has its origin within banking and entered the field of education in the late 1990s (Utdanningsforbundet, 2008). Education has come to be seen as a *commodity*; schools are viewed as *production units* whose *products* or *output* need to be evaluated, compared and *monitored* in order to check its quality and *rate of return*. Teachers are *facilitators* or *coaches*; students are *consumers of services* or *customers* for whom schooling is a *work*. Parents might be called *stakeholders* as well as *customers*.

In this chapter I have chosen one of the “imported” concepts that have become central in the development of the education sector worldwide and decisive for people’s conception of schooling, namely *accountability*. The word stems from the Latin word “putare”, to think, and “carries with it a history of giving an account, of a story or narrative” (Apple, 2006: 92). By referring to Padilla, Apple (ibid.) mentions that “putare” is also the root of the Spanish word “contabilidad”, which refers to the verb, to count; that is with regard to numbers and to recount narratives. Today it seems like it is more related to number counting. In my search to understand the development of the concept, I found that its pivotal role is most probably connected to the theory and practice of corporate governance, in particular agency theory and stakeholder theory, and that the aim of devising the system of accountability was to create trust in governance institutions. The institutionalising of accountability happened by legislation in the United States (US)

in the early 1900s, when the taxation of corporate profits became a law and simple bookkeeping developed into more complex accounting issues. The laws concerning accountability developed, and throughout the years, the separation of ownership and control became a principle (Dragomir, 2008). In short, accountability should be attained through complex accounting controlled by unprejudiced people.

This idea of accountability entered the education sector of the US in the period of Reaganomics (Sacks, 1999). Kohn (2000) argues that the concept builds on the belief that Homo Economicus needs carrots and sticks to perform. The control that lies in the concept of accountability might be seen as such a stick, and might function for individuals as well as systems. What schools produce should be accounted for. The government as well as the taxpayers should know if they get value for their money. According to Husén and Tuijnman (1994: 16), accountability is supposed to enrich “public discussion by reporting on the overall status and strengths and weaknesses in education, thus encouraging the setting of education goals and performance standards”. Sacks (1999), who in his book *Standardized Minds* discusses how the *Accountability Machine* is destroying the education sector of US, holds a more critical position. He argues that “bands of politicians, policy-makers, and other self described crusaders for educational reform, guided by the mantra of ‘holding schools accountable’ have accomplished a near-complete makeover of American schools” (ibid.: 68). The problem is not accountability as such, but that the concept has been redefined “as reducible to scores on standardised achievement tests, and used inappropriately for comparative purposes” (Apple, 2006: 90). What Apple actually does, is to connect the need for accountability and the test culture. Au (2009), Kohn (2000) and Sacks (1999) make the same connection, as well as Hopmann (2007) and Husén and Tuijnman (1994: 4): “The systematic collection of evidence about educational performance, as in an indicator system for the monitoring of educational progress, is an important element of evaluation in a model of accountability”. Actually this is common sense; to be able to make complex accounting in education, there has to be testing. If this accounting is to be controlled by unprejudiced people, the results of the tests have to be presented in an unambiguous way. The cheapest way

of producing such results, is by standardised tests that are easy to correct and code.

Except for some stagnation in the 1970s, a test culture has developed in the US for more than 100 years (Sacks, 1999). Along with the growing demand for accountability, the development has boomed. Gradually standardised tests became high stake not only for students, but for teachers and schools as well (Au, 2009). When test results are connected to punishment of (or gains for) students, teachers or schools, research has shown that it influences methods used in schools, content and even sometimes the curriculum as such (Sacks, 1999). "Teaching to the test" is not an unknown concept among teachers, be it in Norway (Sjøberg, 2009) or in the US. "Study after study shows that teachers respond to these pressures by teaching to test in varying ways," Au (2009: 82) argues. Despite the long history of standardised tests in the US and people's view of them as *the* proper way to select or track students as well as to monitor the system (Au, 2009; Sacks, 1999), the resistance against them is rising (Klees, 2008). The growing resistance is due to several factors; one is that they do not raise quality as they are supposed to do (Au, 2009).

Many ideas and concepts that have had their origin in the US have been exported. Klees (2008) questions the present "export" of standardised tests when the critique against them is growing nationally in the US. Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001: 1) argue that "today many topics directly issued from particularities and particularism of US society and universities have been imposed upon the whole planet under apparently dehistoricised guises". Imposed or not, the "demand for accountability nowadays seems to be global, as it is showed in the opening words of the OECD document that introduced the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA):

How well are young adults prepared to meet the challenges of the future? Are they all able to analyse, reason and communicate their ideas effectively? Do they have the capacity to continue learning through-out life? *Parents, students, the public and those who run the education system need to know.* (OECD, 1999: 7. Emphasis added)

Dolin (2007) argues that international tests have led to more local, national and regional tests, and Hopmann (2007) notes that the international tests and the demand for accountability made way for national tests in many countries. "What if the idea was rather to use international evaluation as a technique for homogenising the participating educational system and creating a competition-orientated mentality?" Uljiens (2007: 299) asks. Whether this is the case or not, statistics¹¹ in the Global Monitoring Report 2008 show that "[t]he number of national and international assessments of learning outcomes has risen significantly" (UNESCO, 2007: 26). Aron Benavot, one of the authors of the report, argued in a lecture at the University of Oslo on 22 August 2008, that this increase seems to be due to the present focus on Education For All (EFA).

Are we actually jumping on the bandwagon of the neo-liberal global capitalism by accepting the demands of the accountability movement?

"Co-opted" concepts

Some concepts have, according to Michael Apple at the *Norway Social Forum* in Oslo 9 November 2008, been "emptied" of their original meaning and then refilled with new understanding.

Two examples of "refilled" concepts are mentioned by Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001: 5) in the *Summary table of the elementary forms of neoliberal thought*. These are the concepts *state* and *market*. Due to the neo-liberal way of thinking, *state* has become something equivalent to constraint. It is seen as being closed, rigid, immobile and fossilised, representing the past and something outdated, emphasising stasis, group, lobby, holism and collectivism. The state has come to represent uniformity and artificiality and is seen as autocratic or "totalitarian". Simultaneously, *market* has developed to represent freedom. It is seen as open, flexible, dynamic, moving and self-transforming, representing future, novelty, growth, the individual and individualism, diversity and authenticity and is regarded as democratic. Twenty-five to thirty years ago, a majority of the descriptions of the two concepts might well have been switched, at least in Norway.

11 For an overview, see UNESCO (2007: 209-220). The report is available at: <http://www.unesco.org/en/education/efareport/> (accessed 30 November 2008).

Borélius (1997) explains the change in content of some concepts in Sweden in the period between 1969 and 1989 with the ideological shift towards neo-liberalism at the same time. The neo-liberal understanding about the state as the *night-watchman state* or the *ultraminimal state*; the understanding of the *unregulated market* and people as the *Economic Man* or *Homo Economicus*, their emphasis on the *individual- and property rights*, *freedom from* (instead of freedom to)¹² and their understanding of *justice* and *equality*, form the way concepts are used and policy shaped. Building on these understandings, the concept *democracy* also has a neo-liberal connotation:

In neo-liberal rhetoric, then, *demokrati* would mean a political system where individual rights are stressed in opposition to majority rights, where formal, negative rights are stressed in opposition to positive rights or the creation of actual possibilities for the most people to influence society, and where property rights are respected. (Borélius 1997: 262. Italics in original)¹³

Jones et al. (2008: 138) also argue that many concepts have changed their earlier meaning and have been included in the new rhetoric and placed “at the heart of the neo-liberal programme”. One of them is *decentralisation* that was previously associated with more power to the grass-root, but nowadays provides a competitive environment. Others are *autonomy*, *civil society*, *inclusion*, *life-long learning* and *creativity*. The first concept was an example used by liberals and socialists for “the independence of schools from outside interests such as the church or economic factors” (ibid.: 138). I will add that still other concepts in this category are seemingly nice words often used in the aid industry, such as *empowerment*, *participation*, *partnership*, *dialogue*, and *ownership*.

One central concept mentioned by Apple in Oslo, was choice. To give people a choice might be connected to the creation of systems

12 *Freedom to* is, according to Hayek (1963 in Borélius, 1997: 261), harmful and regarded as a *positive* right and thus negative in a neo-liberal way of understanding. *Freedom to* “implies real possibilities positively to carry out what one wants, the result might be claims for redistribution in a society”. Thus, the neo-liberal freedom is defined as *freedom from*. Other rights are classified as positive or negative as well. (see Borélius, 1997).

13 The word *demokrati* is used by Borélius in this quotation. It is Swedish and means *democracy*.

that give people a real choice regardless of where they come from, or to a more individual understanding of the concept. The latter, I will argue, is the neo-liberal connotation of the concept where, in reality, only those who have the ability to choose when they get the possibility have a real choice. The facilitation of this individual freedom has had tremendous impact on the education sector worldwide. Moreover, it is closely connected to the creation of quasi-markets,¹⁴ accountability and standardised tests. For the *customers* to be able to choose among schools, they have to be evaluated and monitored, the results have to be published, and the money has to follow the students through capitation grants or vouchers.

The concept of choice also has implications in South Africa, where parents can choose the language of instruction, as discussed by Desai in her chapter in this book. Like Desai, I will argue that this choice can never be a free choice, while English occupies the role it does. One argument in this regard is about the need for everyone to learn English. Because of the so-called globalisation we are told, without proficiency in English we are unable to join the competition of today's world.¹⁵ Will everyone ever be able to join this competition? Is this idea in proportion to the reality of the labour market? Even in a "developed" country like Norway, only four out of ten people were employed in occupations that demanded higher tertiary education in 2008.¹⁶ Would proficiency in English alter this statistic? Is English the key to social mobility? Do we have a system where social mobility is a reality for the many? Jones et al. (2008: 41) argue that even the OECD "recognises that it would be 'tempting' to believe that 'everybody can now participate in the new economy' but feels obliged to temper this optimism":

there are many jobs located outside the most dynamic and highly qualified sectors. It is reasonable to suppose that there will continue to exist marked differences in occupational demand of qualification [...] [and] expansion is often accompanied by

14 Quasi-markets are those that had to be created in sectors where real markets did not exist, such as in the education sector.

15 One may ask what aspect of the so-called globalisation is the cause for this requirement – what kind of consequences it might have – and who actually benefits from it.

16 According to *Labour Force Survey – data on occupations 2008* done by Statistics, Norway's Labour Force Survey of <http://www.ssb.no/yrkeaku/> (accessed 25 April 2009).

an increase in the proportion of non-qualified to qualified staff.
(OECD, 2001 in Jones et al., 2008: 41)

Another argument has to do with the manner in which people become proficient in English. It is somehow believed that, by using English as language of instruction as early as possible, the language will diffuse into the students. According to Øzerk (2006a, 2006b), research does not support this argument, but underlines the importance of good mastery of the mother tongue in order to be able to learn another language. The deep understanding of concepts is best developed in the mother tongue. Once understood, they are possible to translate. To strive for an additive, language development will help the students to master both their mother tongue and a new language. If the introduction of a foreign language leads to subtractive language development, it will harm the mother tongue as well as the learning of the new language and the learning of all subjects that are taught in this language. Also, the manifold writings of Brock-Utne (e.g. 2006, 2007b) support this claim. Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) argues that what is happening due to globalisation is a subtractive language development, where the big languages that are spoken by many, kill other languages, “and English is the foremost among them” (ibid.: 170). Moreover, Skutnabb-Kangas (ibid.: 192) also argues that “most English as a Second Language teaching today, internally and globally, is a reflection of the Diffusion of English Paradigm”,¹⁷ which “is connected to capitalism, science and technology, modernisation, monolingualism, ideological globalisation and internationalisation, transnationalisation, Americanisation and homogenisation of world culture and linguistic, cultural and media imperialism”. I guess this also applies when the second or third language is used as language of instruction. The “choice” that parents of South-Africa are given is thus a quite complicated one, and a real choice only for those who are informed about its wider consequences. Whose interests do all the decisions that are taken on false premises serve?

For the rest of this section I will concentrate on another concept mentioned by Apple during his speech in Oslo; *knowledge*. Knowledge has been passed on from adult to child from time immemorial.

17 The *Diffusion of English Paradigm* is formulated by Tsuda (1994), adapted by Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) and used in Skutnabb-Kangas (1999: 192).

Knowledge is not necessarily connected to schooling. Nowadays it seems like such an open understanding of knowledge is narrowing down, however. Knowledge derived from quantitative methodology seems to become increasingly more important in a climate where positivistic epistemology and objectivistic ontology gain momentum. One example is the many clearinghouses¹⁸ that are established to gather knowledge showing “best” praxis. They seem to value results coming from research where rigorous methods are used, especially randomised experiments (Slavin, 2008: 5). Klees (2009) argues that the World Bank¹⁹ through the idea of being a *knowledge bank* “wants to be a clearinghouse for ‘best practice knowledge’ from everywhere” (World Bank, 1999 in Klees, 2009: 77).

The demand for accountability and thus the evaluation and monitoring through standardised tests has, however, contributed to dangerous attacks on a holistic view of knowledge. Thus, standardised tests might narrow the concept of knowledge through the knowledge they demand from the students participating, and through the knowledge they create. Those who decide about the standards, formulate the questions and give guidelines about how to interpret and code a standardised test, have power to define both whose knowledge counts and hence what kind of knowledge counts for those taking the tests. This might again influence the knowledge taught in school. Further, the knowledge such tests create, and how this knowledge is used, seems to have come to define what kind of knowledge counts in society.

In the US, where high-stake testing has become highly developed, there has been lots of independent research on what standardised tests actually test. Although high-stake testing is not that common worldwide, these findings are interesting to look into. Sacks (1999) has made the following summary:

- Standardised tests generally have questionable ability to predict one’s academic success (ibid.: 7).

18 See Slavin (2008: 6) for an overview of some of the existing clearinghouses within the field of education.

19 <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/0,,contentMDK:20212624~menuPK:575902~pagePK:209023~piPK:207535~theSitePK:213799,00.html> (accessed 13 July 2009).

- Standardised test scores tend to be highly correlated with socioeconomic class (ibid.: 8).
- Standardised tests reward passive, superficial learning, drive instruction in undesirable directions, and thwart meaningful educational reform (ibid.: 8).

Apple (2006) as well as Kohn (2000) argue that standardised tests reproduce as well as produce inequality due to class and race. Au (2009: 140) puts it this way:

Inequality is literally *built-into* our [the American] system of testing, and the tests operate as a mechanism for the (re) production of socioeconomic and educational inequality. High-stakes, standardized tests are simply unequal by design. This, I would argue, is the *hidden curriculum of high-stakes testing*. [...] What is evident in the implementation of high-stakes testing is that the tests tacitly enforce education inequality, standardization, disempowerment, and alienation. (italics are original)

It seems that standardised tests value some types of knowledge over others.

Regardless of these conclusions, a test culture is under development worldwide, as indicated. Klees (2008: 329) underlines the novelty of this culture:

There are many high-pressure examination systems in the world, often in former British colonies, but what is happening now is different – the pressure on teachers and students is every day of every year, not just a few points when high-stakes national exams are given.

As mentioned, the lever to boost this development in the south might be EFA. Internationally, it might be the international tests such as *Trends in Mathematics and Science* (TIMSS) and *Progress in Reading Literacy Studies* (PIRLS) organised by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and PISA. The latter has been highly popular in non-OECD countries as well as the so-called PISA partner countries, and in 2009, as many as 67

countries participated.²⁰

Not only do the assessments regularly use standardised tests to test the achievement of hundreds of thousands of students coming from all over the world – from different cultures, economic situations and school systems – but they use the test results to produce international league tables. These tables compare the different countries, and are thus understood as a picture of those countries' education systems. The ranking might be decisive for further national development. According to Sjøberg (2006), the Norwegian results of *The Second International Science Study* (SISS) were used as an argument to register for its successor, TIMSS, and further for PISA. Now we also participate in PIRLS.²¹ The result of PISA 2000 was used to establish National tests and Mapping tests (Bergesen, 2005) and in the case of Oslo,²² the *Oslo tests* (Gulling, 2009). The results were also used as an explanation as to why we needed a new school reform, which we got (Østerud, 2006). The interesting thing is how the results of international achievement tests become knowledge that is understood as knowledge about a country's school system on which to build a new reform. If standardised tests in the US say little about students' possibilities and much about socioeconomic class, it most probably is a bias scale to use when evaluating school systems. In addition, if standardised tests most probably produce inequality, it must be a bad idea to introduce them in new countries.

In the case of PISA, researchers not engaged in the assessment question the possibility of creating test items that are authentic, in touch with reality and free from cultural biases, as the creators of PISA claim they do.²³ If they succeed in creating test items without cultural bias, the question whether the test items are too general and

20 <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/51/27/37474503.pdf> (accessed 16 July 2009).

21 2001: <http://www.iea.nl/pirls2001.html>, 2006: <http://www.iea.nl/pirls20060.html>, 2011: <http://www.iea.nl/pirls2011.html> (accessed 15 July 2009).

22 Oslo, the capital of Norway, has, with the exception of a period in the 1990s, been led by right wing and centre/right politicians since the 1980s: http://www.byradet.oslo.kommune.no/byradet_gjennom_tidene_2/article102313-29779.html (accessed 11 July 2009). History has shown that Norwegian right wing politicians have been more eager to use standardised tests as an evaluation tool than politicians from the left. During the last decades, the difference between the right and left has, however, become less absolute. Nevertheless, one distinct difference between the political blocs remains. The left does not want to publish the results, while the right wing politicians do.

23 See *Pisa according to Pisa* (Hopmann et al. 2007).

uninteresting is a relevant question to ask. If they do not succeed, the validity of the study might be jeopardised, and thus the validity of the knowledge that the assessment produces.

Language might constitute one cultural bias. Again, in the case of PISA, “[a] majority of test items comes from English-speaking countries; the other items were translated into English before they were streamlined by ‘professional item writers’. If there is cultural bias, it is clearly in favour of the English-speaking countries” (Wuttke, 2007: 257-258). What happens in the translation processes? In a test situation limited by time where the results in fact enter into an international competition, the frames ought to be equal for all students. What would have happened in another international competition if the distances competing athletes should run differed in length? It is found that the translations create obstacles for some, however. German texts, use more rare words,²⁴ are significantly longer, contain more difficult grammar and more sentences containing subordinate clauses than the English texts, Puchhammer (2007) argues. Wuttke (2007: 257) has found that “the French texts contained on average 12% more words and 19% more letters” than the English. This means that students might find both the German and the French translation more demanding than a native English-speaker getting the test in English.

Language issues are also interesting in countries where the students have to take the test written in their second or third language. Either they are minority speakers in the north or majority speakers in former colonies. They most probably will have a disadvantage in comparison to those getting the items in their mother tongue, translated or not. According to Dolin (2007: 109)

it is impossible to avoid a certain amount of cultural bias. Test items that require the students to read between the lines in reference to cultural background knowledge are managed more easily by Danes than by Danish students from ethnic minorities.

24 According to Puchhammer (2007: 133), Zipf's law might be used to find out if words are rare or common in a language. While using this law, it is possible to link statistical frequency of word and rank frequency of occurrence. Built on this law, word frequency tables have been constructed in some languages, English, German and French are three of them. These tables rank the 10 000 most used words in the respective languages. These tables are used while comparing the different versions of PISA test items.

This issue might be one of the reasons why the mean PISA scores of minority speaking students in Norway are lower than of majority speakers (Hvistendahl and Roe, 2003). This is one more factor to take into consideration when the results of TIMSS 2003 of South Africa in science²⁵ as well as mathematics²⁶ are analysed. The results were both at the very bottom of the league tables.

Is the idea to create global tests without cultural biases an expression of the naïve belief in our “global village”? Or is it perpetuating inequality on a global scale?

To change the way people think

Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) call the vocabulary discussed in their paper neo-liberal *newspeak* or *new planetary vulgate*. And they do not entirely blame the neo-liberal agents for the success of this newspeak:

The diffusion of this new planetary vulgate – from which the terms “capitalism”, “class”, “exploitation”, “domination”, and “inequality” are conspicuous by their absence, having been peremptorily dismissed under the pretext that they are obsolete and non-pertinent – is the result of a new type of imperialism whose effects are all the more powerful and pernicious in that it is promoted not only by partisans of the neoliberal revolution who, under cover of “modernisation”, intend to remake the world by sweeping away the social and economic conquest of a century of social struggles, henceforth depicted as so many archaisms and obstacles to the emergent new order, but also by cultural producers (researchers, writers and artists) and left-wing activists who, for the vast majority of them, still think of themselves as progressives. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001: 1)

The term *newspeak* is most probably inspired by the book *1984* by George Orwell, where the ruling power consciously constructed a language to limit the free thinking of the people. I will not argue that the neo-liberal newspeak is consciously created, however. It

25 http://timss.bc.edu/PDF/t03_download/T03INTLSCIRPT.pdf (accessed 13 July 2009).

26 <http://timss.bc.edu/timss2003i/mathD.html>: 34 (accessed 13 July 2009).

developed out of a political reality which, as Borélius (1997) argues, was spread through the think tanks (Estbadi, 2009; Harvey, 2005) and the big organisations, philanthropic foundations as well as the media (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001). Its vocabulary gradually seems to have influenced our thinking and contributed to a development where the *senses of the common* have to a greater extent come to reflect the need of neo-liberal global capitalism, and by thus developed to a political tool that is working through the ballot boxes. Statistics show that the economic policy of the last decades has led to the widening of the gap between those who have and those who have not. Will this newspeak, this language of power, when used as a rationale for the development of education policy, contribute to a development in the same direction? Who does actually gain from the present rhetoric of accountability, freedom of choice, and the epistemological, ontological and methodological constrained view of knowledge?

“Words matter. The language we use structures how we think about things” Samoff (2007 in Klees, 2009: 78) argues. To unmask the neo-liberal newspeak might be an important political action in order to reclaim what once was reflected by common sense; the sense of the common, not the sense of neo-liberal global capitalism.

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27 The letters Æ, Ø, and Å do not exist in the English alphabet but form the three last letters of the Norwegian alphabet.

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Policy on the language of instruction issue in Africa – a spotlight on South Africa and Tanzania

Birgit Brock-Utne

Introduction

My involvement at language policy level for over a decade and a half has taught me that technical experts can try to influence the process, but their success really depends on the amount of influence they have on the political actors. This is indeed a sobering thought for academics who might think that their research findings are so self-evident that political actors do not need to be persuaded to adopt them (Desai, 2006: 110).

The quote above is taken from one of the writings of Professor Zubeida Desai, the Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Western Cape and the South African coordinator of the LOITASA

(Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa¹) project. She touches on a very important question: What influences policy-makers? Why do Tanzanian policy-makers not change the language of instruction (LoI) policies when research findings show that these policies work to the detriment of the masses of Africans? Why do South African policy-makers not bother about implementing the LoI policies which have been put in place?

Since 1995 I have been engaged in consultancies dealing with the LoI policies in Africa. Since 2001 I have been engaged in research on these issues, especially in Tanzania and South Africa. In this paper I shall first describe the current language of instruction policies of these two countries. I shall then analyse the policies as to how progressive and consistent they are. I shall look at the implementation of the policies. In what direction are we moving? Are there any signs that a research project like LOITASA, apart from producing books, academic theses and research results, also has had an impact on public opinion, has led to changes in policies, in the implementation of policies or the mindset of influential individuals? Where are the two countries heading?

In the last part of the article the power concept will be used in an attempt to understand the complexity surrounding language of instruction policies in Tanzania and South Africa.

1 This project was conceived in Bagamoyo in Tanzania in 2000 (see Herman 2009a, 2009b). It is funded by NUFU (the Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education, see (<http://www.siu.no/en/Programme-overview/The-NUFU-programme>) and includes partners from the University of Western Cape (UWC) in South Africa, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in Tanzania and the University of Oslo (UiO) in Norway. The first phase ran from 2001 through 2006. Four books were produced in this period (see Brock-Utne et al. (eds) 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006). A book based on chapters from these four books is underway (Brock-Utne et al. (eds), 2009). The second phase of LOITASA started in 2007 and will go on until 2012. One book is in press from this period (Qorro et al. (eds), 2009) see (<http://www.loitasa.org>)

The Lol policies of South Africa and Tanzania. How progressive are they? How consistent?

South Africa – the Lol policies

The change in the language policy of South Africa that came with the new Constitution in 1996 (RSA 1996 Education Acts) meant an increase in the number of recognised official languages from two to eleven. The recognition of several indigenous languages as resources in the building of a democratic society may be interpreted as a will to alter the distribution of power amongst language groups (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2004). In an effort to eliminate the domination of one language group by another, the drafters of South Africa's Constitution decided to make all eleven of the country's major languages equal and official. Thus, section 6(1) of South Africa's Constitution (RSA 1996) states:

- I. The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

The Constitution further imposes a positive duty upon the state in subsection 2:

Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

There is a provision in subsection 5 for the creation of the Pan South African Language Board to promote and create conditions for the development and use of:

- i. all eleven official languages
- ii. the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
- iii. sign language

In 1995 this board became a reality as a result of the Pan South African Language Board Act (PANSALB 2000). Since the first

democratic elections in South Africa, educational legislation has been passed to implement a new school system, introducing the eleven official languages and a new policy for schools on medium of instruction. The language clause in the South African Constitution that allows learners to be taught in *any* official language/s of their choice states:

Every one has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public education institutions where that education is reasonably practicable (RSA 1996: 14, Act No. 108).

Leketi Makelela (2005) mentions that this language provision has received international support as the most progressive, revolutionary and democratic provision in education on an African soil. As will be discussed below Makelela does not agree that these policies are as democratic and progressive as they may seem. Despite a language in education policy, which in principle enables learners or their guardians to choose the language of instruction, English is used as the medium from Grade 4 onwards.

When it comes to South Africa, it is interesting to note that during the time of Bantu Education when the mother tongue was phased in and maintained for eight years as the primary language of learning, the matriculation results of black students steadily improved, reaching their zenith in 1976, which was an 83.7% pass rate. It was an inflexible implementation of Afrikaans as a medium for 50% of the subjects in secondary school in 1975 that led to the student uprising in Soweto the following year. The Government was forced to back down, and in 1979, the Education and Training Act was passed, reducing the mother tongue to 4 years of primary school followed by a choice of medium between Afrikaans and English. Most schools opted for English medium. The reduction of the use of the mother tongue has, however, coincided with decreasing pass rates for African language speaking students, which dropped to as low as 48.3% by 1982, and 44% by 1992 (Heugh, 1999: 304).

In July 1997 the national Department of Education released its Language in Education Policy (LiEP) for public schools. The LiEP states as its underlying principle “to maintain home language(s)

while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s)” (DoE, 1997: 1). When one reads the official government policy carefully, one sees that this policy does not state that a change of language of instruction needs to take place in the fourth or fifth grade in primary school or, for that matter, at all. According to this policy the whole of primary school as well as secondary school and tertiary education could be conducted in African languages. The transition to English is only a policy decided by individual schools and reflects the actual 1979 apartheid language policy. The LiEP states that learners and/or their parents have a right to choose the language of learning and teaching.

Nomlomo notes, based on her own research, that the majority of black working class parents are not aware that there is a language policy that guides teaching and learning in their children’s schools. They do not know that schools make choices without consulting them (Nomlomo, 2006, 2007).

Apart from the parents’ ignorance about language policy issues and their children’s education rights, the findings of the interviews that were conducted with parents of a primary school in a black informal settlement in Cape Town showed that there is no regular communication between the school and the parents. The parents do not have sufficient knowledge of what is happening in schools in terms of policies that govern teaching and learning. The lack of interaction between teachers and parents has implications for the school’s policy formulation and implementation.

How progressive are the language of instruction policies of South Africa?

Some South African linguists and researchers maintain that the South African language of instruction policies are not as progressive as they may seem (Alexander, 1989, 1995; Prah, 1998, 2005; Makelela 2005). The choice of the nine African languages is in reality just a choice giving status on paper to the main languages of the former Bantustans. Makelela (2005: 148) argues for re-conceptualising multilingualism in South Africa, with the following claims:

- Multilingualism, as it applies to indigenous African languages in the constitution, is an artificial construct, exaggerated by

missionary linguists and used by the apartheid regime in the creation of separate development programmes through Bantustan homelands;

- It functions as a gatekeeper to the promotion and use of indigenous African languages as media of learning and teaching in the classroom; and
- It can be reconstructed through harmonisation of sister language varieties that are mutually intelligible.

Makelela notes that the period from about 1830 down to the present day has been a period in which almost all the research and recording work on African languages in South Africa was done by the missionaries. The missionaries from different European countries such as Germany, England and Holland were deployed in various parts of the country to evangelise the natives.

Not fully understanding the varieties spoken, they encoded closely related dialects, as a non-English speaker would encode the Northern and Southern English varieties in the US, as distinct languages. For example, the Sotho dialects were encoded separately as Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Western Sotho (later renamed Sesotho, Sepedi and Setswana, respectively) (Makelela, 2005: 151-152).

Like in neighbouring Namibia (Brock-Utne, 1997; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2001), the missionary encoding was based on differences preconceived by foreign ears to further both the evangelisation and colonisation missions. Added to the fact that the missionaries were not practically speaking these languages themselves, they balkanised indigenous African language varieties with artificial boundaries.

The non-use of African languages in public domains and education beyond Grade 4 gave way for the rise of a Dutch creole, Afrikaans, that had already evolved by 1925. Afrikaans emerged through contact between the Dutch, Africans and Malay people who were brought to the Cape as slaves. It became an official language in 1925 and then replaced Dutch which had been dually used with English since the union of South Africa in 1910.

Makelela (2005: 152) mentions that at the birth of official Apartheid in 1948, the National Party ensured that Afrikaans became a fully-fledged language for use as the medium of learning and teaching, side by side with English:

Like their predecessors, the Afrikaners had a mission of Afrikanerization whose twin aim was to reduce the domination of English and to further reduce Africans into linguistic-tribal enclaves. Characteristically, they used the missionary foundation of 9 African “languages” to advance linguistic boundaries through Bantustan “homelands”: Lebowa (Sepedi), Gantzankulu (Xitsonga), Venda (Tshivenda), Kangwane (siSwati), Kwa-Zulu (isiZulu), Boputhatswana (Setswana), Qwaqwa (Sesotho), KwaNdebele (isiNdebele), Transkei (isiXhosa), Ciskei (isiXhosa).

Neville Alexander (1989: 21) notes that tribalisation of Africans by artificial linguistic differences mushroomed in accord with Dr H. F. Verwoerd’s blueprint: “Africans who speak different languages must live in separate quarters.” The Bantu Education Act of 1953 sought to increase the use of the mother tongue from Grade 4 to Grade 8. Though this may have been educationally sound, the political reason for this move seems to be fragmentation of the African people whose majority status was both a political and social threat (Alexander, 1989; Makelela, 2005). Makelela notes that the democratisation of South Africa in 1994 provided an opportunity for linguistic reform which was not acted upon. The acceptance of nine indigenous language varieties as distinct languages, plus Afrikaans and English further strengthened language balkanisation. He mentions that the 2001 Census masked important details relevant to unification of language varieties. It concealed that Nguni language varieties (isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele) constitute an overwhelming 45.71% while Sotho varieties (Sepedi, Setswana and Sesotho) make up 25.52% of the total number of speakers.

Tanzania– the Lol policies

The current language policy in Tanzania can best be described by words like confusing, contradictory and ambiguous (Brock-Utne, 2005). Language is not any longer mentioned in the Constitution

of Tanzania. In the Constitution of 1962 it was said that Kiswahili and English should be the official languages. Since then there have been amendments in the Constitution 13 times, and the issue of language has disappeared.²

The official language in education policy is the one laid down in the Education and Training Policy (MEC, 1995) which states:

- The medium of instruction in pre-primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject (35)
- The medium of instruction in primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject (39)
- The medium of instruction for secondary education shall continue to be English, except for the teaching of other approved languages and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to ordinary level (45)

The Education and Training Policy of 1995 was a result of much donor pressure on Tanzania to liberalise the economy, privatise and reintroduce school fees and so-called cost-sharing measures within the education sector.

How consistent are the language of instruction policies of Tanzania?

Only two years after the Ministry of Education and Culture had issued the Education and Training policy, in August 1997, the Ministry issued another policy document dealing with the language of instruction. This document was entitled: *Sera ya Utamaduni* (Cultural Policy). This policy was issued by the cultural branch of the Ministry, while the Education and Training policy was issued by the education branch. The aim of *Sera ya Utamaduni* was to clarify the position of the Tanzanian Government when it comes to the place of the different languages of Tanzania in the formal education system. Section 3.4.1 of the document includes the following statement:

2 Information collected during an interview with the late Professor Dr Rugatiri D. K. Mekacha, from the Department of Kiswahili UDSM (then home for a holiday from Osaka in Japan where he stayed for two years to teach Kiswahili). The conversation was conducted in Kiswahili and took place on the 5 February 2001 in the outdoor restaurant at the University, the Hill.

Mpango maalum wa kuiwezesha elimu na mafunzo katika ngazi zote kutolewa katika lugha ya Kiswahili utaandaliwa na kutekelezwa (MEC, 1997: 19) (my translation: A special plan to enable the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in education and training at all levels shall be designed and implemented).

The Ministry also wanted the teaching of English to be strengthened, but then as a subject. The policy explicitly states:

Kingereza kitakuwa ni somo la lazima katika elimu ya awali, msingi na sekondari na kitahimizwa katika elimu ya juu na ufundishaji wake utaboreshwa (MEC, 1997: 18) (my translation: English will be a compulsory subject at pre-primary, primary and secondary levels and it shall be encouraged in higher education. The teaching of English shall be strengthened).

This part of the *Sera ya Utamaduni* *has* taken place in Tanzanian primary schools since English is now introduced as a subject already from Standard 1. The introduction of Kiswahili as the language of instruction in secondary school has, however, not taken place even though a consultancy report (MEC, 1998) which was meant to come up with advice on the practical implementation of the *Sera ya Utamaduni* suggested that the introduction of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in secondary schools should start in 2001.

To what degree are the Lol policies in the two countries being implemented?

In South Africa

In South Africa there are no formalities preventing the African languages being used as languages of instruction all throughout the school system. This is, however, not happening. While children who have English or Afrikaans as their mother tongue may study these languages all through their educational career and do not need to ever learn an African language, children with African languages as their mother tongue switch to one of the languages of the former colonisers as language of instruction as early as Grade 4.

For most African children these languages are foreign languages which they seldom hear and do not speak outside school, languages they are not able to communicate well in. This is especially true for children living in the townships and informal settlements. There also exists a small group of upper- or middle-class black parents with well-paying jobs who live in former white areas, have their children in former white schools, buy books and DVDs for their children and give them extra tutoring in English. Sometimes these parents even use English as the language of communication with their children. These children may grow up knowing English better than the language in which the parents communicate with each other. There exists in some African countries an elite whose children grow up not learning an African language at all. I once asked the well-known researcher, Michael Cross, working at the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa but coming from Mozambique what his first language was. He said: "Portuguese". I said: "I do not mean the language of instruction in school, I mean the language you grew up with, the language your mother sang the lullabies in." He said: "Portuguese". He actually had command of only two languages namely Portuguese and English. I later learnt that Portuguese, the language of privilege in Mozambique, was the parental tongue of almost 70% of Universidade Eduardo Mondlane students, and the means of family communication for over 60%. This compares to a figure of 9% in the general population (Sawyer, 2002).

The most recent curriculum of South African schooling known as Curriculum 2005 has not integrated curricular transformation of schooling with the language policy.

Several South African researchers point to the fact that necessary conditions for teaching in an indigenous African language beyond Grade 4 have not been put in place (see Heugh, 2002; Kamwangamalu, 2001; Makoni, 2003; Makelela, 2005). Instead, the elite and a growing number of educated Black parents send their children to private English-medium schools as early as the kindergarten age. Their practice negates the very constitutional commitments to a development of a multilingual policy and the potential use of African languages as the media of learning (Makelela, 1999). This gravitation toward the English-only medium is increasingly becoming a norm in a linguistically plural South Africa. According to Makelela (2005),

it inevitably fulfils recommendations of the English Academy of Southern Africa. In general the picture is disappointing though there are some good improvements in parts of the country.

In Tanzania

When we conceptualised the LOITASA project in Bagamoyo in the beginning of 2000 (see Herman, 2009a, 2009b), the South African group was especially happy to work with Tanzanians since Tanzania was the only country in Africa, apart from Ethiopia, that had an African language as the language of instruction all through the seven years of primary education and where plans were underway to extend this practice to secondary education.

What has happened on the ground in Tanzania since 2000 has been disappointing. No secondary school has started officially using Kiswahili as the language of instruction, though unofficially code-switching between Kiswahili and English is the normal way of teaching in Tanzanian secondary schools (Vuzo, 2007; Mwinsheikhe, 2007; Brock-Utne, 2007). Though this mode of teaching is possibly the only one which makes children understand the subject matter, it is not legal. If students answer their exam questions in Kiswahili, they get zero points, even if their answers are correct.

When, in the first phase of LOITASA, we tried to get the approval of the then Minister of Education Mr Mungai, to conduct our experiment for two years in two selected secondary schools having children being taught in Kiswahili in some subjects, we were denied this opportunity (Brock-Utne, 2005).

The liberalisation of the economy in the mid 1980s, which Tanzania was forced into by the World Bank and IMF, entailed structural adjustment measures like cutting down on public expenditures, the opening up of private schools and liberalisation of the text-book market (Brock-Utne, 2000).

Since the adoption of the Education and Training Policy in 1995, the increase in English medium primary schools, especially in the urban areas, has been spectacular. The increase has mostly come about because the government, for lack of resources, has not been able to provide education of good quality in the government schools (Rubagumya, 2003). Recent research in Tanzania shows that better resources in the form of more books and other teaching material,

more dedicated teachers, and fewer students in class in the private compared to the government primary schools, provides enough reason to explain why parents who are able to send their children to these schools will do so (Babaci-Wilhite, 2009; Barongo, 2009; John, 2009). In almost all of these schools, the medium is English. In her interviews with parents, Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite (2009) found that parents confuse the respective advantages of language of instruction and resources. They tend to attribute the advantages of private schools to the use of English rather than to the access to greater resources.

Implementation of the language policies and the hopes of LOITASA researchers

Are there any signs that the language policies of South Africa and Tanzania are being implemented in the way LOITASA researchers hoped for in the initial meeting in Bagamoyo when the project was conceptualised?

In South Africa

Harold Herman (2009b) notes that the pressure of research findings, cultural and advocacy groups has had some success in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. In 2006, the Western Cape Education Department introduced a Language-in-Education Transformation Plan. It set itself four targets (Desai, 2006: 110):

- Support the use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction till the end of Grade 6 (precisely what the focus of the LOITASA project was).
- Encourage communicative competence in the three official languages of the Western Cape (Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa).
- Bring parents on board in relation to language in education policy (a feature of the LOITASA project, [Nomlomo 2006, 2007]).
- Extend mother-tongue education to more pupils by making it also available to speakers of languages other than Afrikaans and English.

Currently there are sixteen experimental primary schools where isiXhosa is the medium of instruction up to Grade 6 out of the one hundred and fifty schools where the pupils are isiXhosa-speaking. An Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) programme in Language Education has been instituted at the University of Western Cape as a professional development programme for serving teachers in the Intermediate Phase, to address the shortage of language teachers. Herman (2009b) hopes that this new LoI policy will expand rapidly, spurred on by research projects like LOITASA. Whether these changes have come about because of the LOITASA project is hard to tell, but it is a fact that the Western Cape Education Department has been eager to get hold of the learning material in isiXhosa developed by LOITASA and learn from the results of the project.

In Tanzania

The situation in Tanzania in the seven year period of the LOITASA project seems less optimistic. No secondary school has started using Kiswahili as the language of instruction. There has been a growth in the number of private primary schools using English as the medium. In connection with a World Bank loan to the education sector and several consultancy reports and reviews showing that the competence in English was very low among primary school pupils, Zanzibar in 2006 reintroduced English as the language of instruction from Grade 5 in mathematics and science subjects in all government primary schools. And that in an island where Kiswahili is the first language of the whole population! This is how the new policy was formulated by the working group of 2005:

Kiswahili shall continue as the medium of instruction in public pre-primary and primary schools except for mathematics and science subjects beginning primary five when English shall be used (MECS, 2005: 44³).

There is no argument in the working group report for this change, no reference to research, no reason given why these subjects have been singled out. Ranaweera (1976), the former Director of Education at

3 <http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Zanzibar/Zanzibar%20Education%20Policy%20Final.pdf>. Accessed: 12 April 2009

the Curriculum Development Centre, Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka, writes about the great advantages to the population of Sri Lanka of the introduction of Sinhala and Tamil as the languages of instruction to replace English – *especially* for the teaching of science and technology:

The transition from English to the national languages as the medium of instruction in science helped to destroy the great barrier that existed between the privileged English-educated classes; between the science-educated elite and the non-science educated masses; between science itself and the people. It gave confidence to the common man that science is within his reach and to the teachers and pupils that a knowledge of English need not necessarily be a prerequisite for learning science (Ranaweera, 1976: 423).

Gouleta (2006: 38) points at Tunisia, where the sciences are taught in French in the secondary school. “As a result students’ competence levels in the classroom and in exams are lower,” she notes.

But there *are* some positive signs in Tanzania. They mostly have to do with the extensive debate on the language issue in newspapers and television. It also has to do with the greater acceptance of using Kiswahili in meetings at the University of Dar es Salaam. At a LOITASA end of phase I conference at the UDSM in December 2006, most of the papers were presented in English but after some initial discussion in English the participants quickly switched to Kiswahili. PhD student Torill Aagot Halvorsen who, together with me, participated in this event but does not speak Kiswahili, noted that when the discussion was in English a third of the participants were sleeping. When it was in Kiswahili everybody was awake and wanted to participate. And this was among professors and trained academics! Many of the lecturers and students at the University of Dar es Salaam read and write more Kiswahili now than before they started using the Internet. Websites in Kiswahili have been escalating in recent years, newspapers, dictionaries and freeware are downloadable from the net. Software programs like Word, Excel, Outlook and Power Point all exist in Kiswahili. Software and ICT devices in Kiswahili are steadily increasing. Halvorsen (2009)

found that UDSM students with the most ICT experience tend to use Kiswahili as ICT language more than students with less ICT experience. This points to a future where modern technology may assist the African languages in occupying a more important role.

There are clear signs that influential academics at the UDSM are now arguing for a switch to Kiswahili as the language of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels. The well established professor and researcher Abel Ishumi, former Head of Department, stopped me when I entered the university a couple of years ago, saying: "Birgit, I am a total convert. We shall have to switch to Kiswahili, the sooner, the better." His experiences in Norway and Japan had taught him the value of studying through a familiar language. When I was teaching at the UDSM he was one of the toughest opponents in the discussion on the LoI. He would say that English had to be maintained because it was "an international language" and "the language of science and technology".

Power – the missing link in analysis of language of instruction policies

Why does language of instruction policy lack political follow-up, especially in African countries? Searching for an answer to this question, it may be fruitful to engage in power analysis. Power matters and so does context. But what is power? How is it conceived and how is it exercised? Power refers broadly to any ability to exert control over or effect change in people.

I have elsewhere (Brock-Utne, 1989) discussed the power concept at some length, referring to writings by such different thinkers as Talcott Parson (1969) and Marilyn French (1986). Despite coming from very different theoretical traditions, they both differentiate between power over and power to (enabling power). The first type of power often leads to a zero-sum game: the more power A gets over B, the less power B gets over A. The second type of power deals more with the power or the capacity of a given society to fulfil the collective aims of that society. Michel Foucault (1975) analyses the link between power and knowledge. He claims that belief systems gain momentum (and hence power) as more people come to accept the particular views associated with that belief system as *common knowledge*. Within such a belief system, ideas crystallise as to what

is *right* and what is *wrong*. These ideas, being considered undeniable “truths”, come to define a particular way of seeing the world.

The power of the donors

The power of the donors in this field is the power to exert control over and influence the choice of language policy of a country. There are clearly indications that donors to education in Tanzania and South Africa are exerting such power. The gravitation toward the English-only medium in South Africa, as stated by Makelela (2005), fulfils recommendations of the English Academy of Southern Africa which, in 1992, made two major recommendations to inform language policy:

- a. that English should be the main official language of South Africa, and
- b. that the official standard of English in South Africa should be standard British English.

The British government in 1984 funded a study on levels of English existing across the educational system of Tanzania. The study was carried out in July/August 1984 by Dr Clive Criper, a linguist from Edinburgh University and Mr Bill Dodd, an administrator with long experience from Tanzania. Their study confirmed earlier research showing that the levels of English were too low in most schools for effective learning to take place. Here are two of their findings:

- Only about 10% of Form IVs are at a level that one might expect English-medium education to begin (Criper and Dodd, 1984: 14).
- Less than 20% of the University sample tested were at a level where they would find it easy to read even the simpler books required for their academic studies (Criper and Dodd, 1984: 43).

Based on these findings Criper and Dodd reached the following astonishing conclusion: “The Ministry of Education should issue an unambiguous circular setting out the policy on English-medium education” (1984: 73). Lwaitama and Rugemalira (1988) claim that

this conclusion was no coincidence. The British government wanted to see English strengthened in Tanzania. Rubagumya (1991: 76) also comments on the paradox underlying Criper and Dodd's empirical research. Although English had ceased to be a viable medium of education in Tanzania, the authors' recommendation for the English Language Teaching Support Project (ELTSP), which the British Government was to fund, was on the condition that English continues to be the medium of instruction!

The objective of the ELTSP which was introduced in Tanzania through British development aid (1.46 million pounds sterling) in 1987, was to increase the competence of English-language teachers and to provide books for that purpose. Nine specialists from the United Kingdom were brought to Tanzania to implement the project.

Through the ELTSP, it was proposed that Tanzanians be invited to write books. Walter Bgoya (1992) explains that a number of Tanzanian publishers thought the Tanzanian publishing industry might benefit from the project, which would buy no less than 20 000 copies of the English supplementary readers if published under the project. They had books in manuscript form in which they had already invested a lot of time and work but had not been able to publish because of lack of funds. But the Tanzanian publishers were not helped to survive through the project. On the contrary:

As it turned out, the agreement stipulated that the first edition of all books published under the project had to be published in the UK by either Longman, Macmillan, Oxford University Press or Evans. Only a reprint could be published in Tanzania under a co-publication arrangement between the UK publisher and a local one. But even this was revised, and no book was published in Tanzania. British publishers, it is said, insisted that they should publish the books in the UK, even if the manuscripts originated in Tanzania. English-language teaching is good business for publishers in the UK (Bgoya, 1992: 179).

Publishing industries and consultancy firms in the north profit from the use of the ex-colonial languages in education in Africa. A project monitoring report of the English Language Teaching Support

project from 1991 showed that the project could boast of little, if any, achievement at all (Simmonds et al., 1991).

Rubagumya (2003) explains that pressure from actors like the World Bank and IMF as well as bilateral donors forced the government to liberalize primary education in the mid-90s (see Brock-Utne, 2000 about the role of previously like-minded donors like NORAD and SIDA in this period). Therefore, the Education and Training Policy of 1995 stipulates that all levels of education are open to private actors. As one interviewee put it when Lene Buchert (1997: 52) tried to find out how the Education and Training Policy of 1995 had been formulated: "It has been stuffed down the throat of the government by the IMF and the World Bank."

Paulo Freire (1985) defined the practice of imposing a foreign language upon the learner for studying another subject as a violation of the structure of thinking. Yet this is the situation most African children find themselves in today. The former colonial powers use a large part of their aid budget to promote their own languages as languages of instruction in the schools in Africa. Their policy has found backing in the World Bank. Alamin Mazrui (1997) mentions that a World Bank loan to the Central African Republic, allegedly intended to improve the quality and accessibility of primary education, came with a package of conditions that required the nation to import its textbooks directly from France and Canada. It has been estimated that due to similar World Bank projects and linkages, over 80% of schoolbooks in the so-called "francophone" Africa are produced directly in France (Nnana, 1995: 17).

The power of the elites

"Let us face it. We are among the elites and the elites are part of the problem."

"Yes, that is correct, but the elites are also part of the solution."

This dialogue took place between two African professors at the LEA (Languages and Education in Africa) conference held at the University of Oslo in June 2006 (Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009). Many participants were concerned about the fact that the African elites send their own children to expensive private schools and see

to it that they get private tutoring in the language of instruction. They often support the system of teaching through a foreign tongue, a system which also for their own children is a problem, but nevertheless gives them an edge over other children because of the extra resources parents can supply their children with. They would argue that English or French are international languages, have a bigger vocabulary and are better developed than the local languages. It is therefore better to use these languages for schooling. In the rather heated newspaper, radio and television debates which have taken place in Tanzania in recent years over the language of instruction, these arguments can be heard.

But influential academics are arguing a case for the switch to Kiswahili as the medium of instruction. When these academics who may seem to be marginal cases gather sufficient momentum (and hence power), they will eventually generate what Kuhn (1962) in the *Structure of Scientific Revolution* called a paradigm shift and Michel Foucault (1975) called accepting particular views as *common knowledge*.

The power of western paradigms when researching language policies in Africa

I have elsewhere (Brock-Utne, 2006, 2009) criticised the use of the concept “bilingualism” when applied to the situation in Africa. In June 2006 I was asked by the World Bank to evaluate a consultancy report on bilingualism written by Eirini Gouleta for the government of Madagascar. The main problem with the consultancy report was found in the terms of reference given, where the consultant was asked to look at what passes as bilingual education in industrialised countries, an education developed for minority populations, and to draw lessons from this to be used for the majority population of an African country.

An African child with a perfect command of two very different African languages is not called bilingual. It is only when the one language is an ex-colonial language that the concept “bilingualism” or “bilingual schooling” is being used. Instead of the terms of reference the consultant had to work from, she should have been asked to look at the methodology used for the *majority* population in the industrialised countries, both for learning subject matter and

foreign languages. Many of the research findings referred to in the consultancy report, especially those from the US, Canada and other industrialised countries, do not fit the situation in Africa. Concepts like bilingual teaching, second language learning, additive and subtractive bilingualism, immersion and submersion programmes, early and late exit, as well as maintenance and transition programmes, are concepts taken from the west, partly applied to affluent situations in Canada and partly applied to immigrant and minority children from third world countries being integrated into school life in the affluent west. Neither of the situations resembles the situations in Africa or other developing countries. Normally when the concept “bilingual” teaching or “second language learning” is used, it means using the African child’s mother tongue or familiar African language as a stepping stone to the use – also as the language of instruction – of an ex-colonial language. The fact that children learn best when they understand what the teacher is saying is overlooked. So is the fact that the ex-colonial languages are foreign languages to most African children.

Rubagumya (1991) criticises how the concept “diglossia”⁴ is being used e.g. by Fishman (1972) in a way which regards languages as being in complementarity. He instead puts an emphasis on the conflictual nature of diglossic situations. For him, the linguistic divisions within diglossia are inextricably bound up with the social division between the dominant and the dominated classes. He finds that writers who write from a “sociolinguists of the periphery” perspective (e.g. Martin-Jones, 1988; Gardy and Lafont, 1981; Roberts, 1987) acknowledging the conflictual nature of diglossia are more likely to come up with a correct description of the language situation in Tanzania.

Discussing the symbolic opposition between English and Welsh, Roberts (1987: 312 in Rubagumya, 1991: 72) shows how the diglossia theory developed by Ferguson and Fishman is inadequate in accounting for language behaviour in societies where two or more languages exist, and where the social and political relations between speakers are characterised by inequality:

⁴ Describing a situation where one or more high (H) languages and one or more low (L) languages exist side by side.

Fishman's extension of diglossia to include languages functionally separated in bilingual societies and his integration of diglossia with the concept of language domains is accomplished by reference to the stability of language situations rather than conflict which clearly forms a pervasive characteristic of language situations.

Rubagumya (1991: 73) is aware of the fact that the conflict perspective on diglossia has been developed in Western Europe by those concerned with the protection of the rights of speakers of dominated minority languages.

It cannot therefore be applied to linguistic situations like the one obtaining in Tanzania today without modification. Whereas, in Europe, H languages are majority languages, in Tanzania English (H) is a minority language in so far as it is spoken by few people (about 5% of the population) but carries enormous symbolic power. In Tanzania it is not the L languages (i.e., Kiswahili and the vernaculars) which are being sheltered. It is English, the H language, which is being protected from Kiswahili. Despite these differences, the conflict perspective on diglossia is relevant to Tanzania in a number of ways.

In order to show how this perspective is relevant, Rubagumya offers an alternative analysis of "triglossia" in Tanzania. He recaptures the history of language teaching in Tanzania during the colonial period and notes that it was only the L languages (in this case Kiswahili and the vernaculars) which were constrained. "In other words, students were punished for speaking other languages than English, but no one was punished for speaking English even if it was in a domain which was not appropriate for it" (Rubagumya, 1991: 74-75).

From his account on the use of Kiswahili and English in Tanzania, Rubagumya (1991: 77) concludes that

a portrayal of English and Kiswahili as being in complementary distribution is not satisfactory. These two languages have always been in some form of symbolic opposition. English as a language imposed during the colonial era acquired privileges which made it an H language in opposition to Kiswahili. [...] Access to English

today is not even. Those who are in a better socio-political and/or economic position have more control of, and better access to, English. In a situation like this, the pertinent question is not in which domains English is used, but why it is used in those domains and who uses it.

The power of misconceptions

Education means the acquisition of knowledge, but Education means primarily learning English for many South Africans and Tanzanians. This includes parents and students as well as African governments. I have elsewhere (Brock-Utne 2000, 2005) described the rejection by the Tanzanian government of the proposal by the 1982 Presidential Commission on Education to change the medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels of education from English to Kiswahili. Justifying the government's rejection of the proposal, the Minister for Education said:

We must learn from foreign nations and in order to do so we must use English to promote understanding (of what is learnt) in schools. (quoted in Schmied. 1986: 109)

This misconception dies hard. It may actually lie behind the recent change of policy in Zanzibar. Foreign nations learn from each other too, but they do so either by studying the information in their own languages as translations or they read the relevant foreign languages which they have acquired as foreign languages. English does not promote understanding of what is learnt in the majority schools of Tanzania and South Africa. As Ayo Bamgbose (2005: 255) correctly observes:

Outside Africa, no one questions why the languages of countries with smaller populations in Europe should be used as a medium, even up to and including the university level. What seems to be lacking in many African countries is the political will to break away from the colonial policy and practice of limiting mother-tongue education to lower primary classes. Where such a will exists, much can be done in a short period of time.

African academics like Bamgbose (2005), Mazrui (1997), Desai (2006), Rubagumya (2003), Prah (2005), Nomlomo (2007), Vuzo (2007), Bgoya (1992), Makelela (2005), and Mwinsheikhe (2007) may today seem to be marginal cases but they are likely to gather sufficient momentum (and hence power which will lead to political will) to have their views accepted as *common knowledge*.

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Laissez-faire approaches to language in education policy do not work in South Africa

Zubeida Desai

Introduction

Language is a living phenomenon that cannot be regulated easily as it has a life of its own. Such a view has led to concepts such as “multilingualism from below” being propagated in particular contexts resulting in particular interpretations and consequences. Although I caution against binary approaches, I argue in this chapter that a “bottom-up” approach can result in governments and ministries of education abdicating their responsibility in promoting and developing non-hegemonic languages, thus maintaining official monolingualism, or at best, official bilingualism. Put differently, do governments promote democracy by decentralising decision-making or do they abdicate responsibility? I also argue that in a global context citizens need not only access to a language of wider currency but also proficiency in such a language. Too often has the debate around mother-tongue education been posed as a binary: mother-tongue education or English education.

In South Africa today, the majority of pupils at schools need to master both disciplinary knowledge in a language they are competent in and English as a language of communication and education. The question we need to ask is “What policies and practices can facilitate such mastery?” My entry point into this debate is as a teacher, an educator who is concerned about promoting pupils’ epistemological access to learning and knowledge, as opposed to their institutional

access (Morrow, 1993), a concern that is very real in post-apartheid South Africa where historically “white” educational institutions are now open to “black” pupils and students.

It is in this context that I make a proposition which is likely to be controversial. The essence of the proposition is that unless language-in-education-policy decisions are top-down in South Africa, the legacies of the past will continue in the form of mainly English-medium instruction, despite progressive policies which encourage the use of mother tongue in education. My starting premise is that the key to African language development is mother-tongue education. It is only when languages are used in high domains such as education that they will develop fully. For this to happen on a large scale, there has to be some state intervention or planning from the top.

Language in education policy and practices in South Africa

Instruction in indigenous African languages is a controversial issue in South Africa due to historical, social and political factors relating to colonialism and apartheid. South Africa’s history under colonialism and apartheid has led to a negative image of African languages in education as they were associated with inequality and segregation. The apartheid language policy, which interestingly extended the use of African languages in education, was driven by discriminatory principles aimed at “ghettoising” Africans and dividing South Africans across racial lines. For example, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which implemented mother-tongue education for eight years of schooling had ulterior motives in that it blocked black learners’ access to better education in a number of ways, including through unequal distribution of resources and facilities and not providing them with real access to English, a language of wider communication which has currency (Hartshorne, 1992; Heugh, 2000). English has always been taught as a subject in black schools but often by teachers who themselves were not very proficient in the language. Despite technological advances, exposure to English remains limited for many black learners, particularly in rural areas. This situation continues today – sixteen years after apartheid officially ended.

Post-apartheid South Africa's language policy was hailed as progressive when South Africa declared eleven of its languages as official in the Constitution (RSA, 1996). These are, to quote from the Constitution: Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. The onus is on the state to take practical measures to elevate the status and advance the use of the indigenous languages. National and provincial governments are expected to use at least two languages in the course of their work. They are also expected to regulate and monitor the use of official languages. All official languages must enjoy "parity of esteem" and be "treated equitably". In addition, a Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) has been created to monitor language policy and develop African languages.

However, sociolinguists like Makalela (2005) argue that the eleven language policy may actually hinder the use of African languages in high domains such as education as governments may be reluctant to use so many languages as media of instruction for reasons of cost. He argues that the mutual intelligibility of many of the nine African languages should be used to harmonise or standardise groups of languages for written purposes so that governments may then be persuaded to develop materials or textbooks in the fewer "harmonised" varieties as it would be a much more cost-effective measure.

There has been much analysis of the constitutional clause on language. But one aspect of official language policy that is disturbing is the fact that, despite the constitutional clause which stipulates that a minimum of two languages be used by government, there is a growing trend towards English, and towards official monolingualism in practice. To echo Makalela (2005: 148), "Why is there such a huge gap between constitutional provisions and the actual language practice on the ground?" It is against this background that language in education developments need to be seen.

One of the post-apartheid developments in language was the adoption of a new language-in-education policy in July 1997. The actual policy proposals consist of two sections – Languages as subjects and Language/s of Learning and Teaching. The latter section consists of one sentence, which reads as follows: "The language(s) of learning and teaching in a public school must be (an)

official language(s)”(DoE, 1997: 6). The languages as subjects section is listed below in full as it reveals some interesting contradictions:

- 4.4.1 All learners shall offer at least one¹ approved language as a subject in Grade 1 and Grade 2.
- 4.4.2 From Grade 3 (Std 1) onwards, all learners shall offer their language of learning and teaching and at least one additional approved language as subject.
- 4.4.3 All language subjects shall receive equitable time and resource allocation.
- 4.4.4 The following promotion requirements apply to language subjects:
 - 4.4.4.1 In Grade 1 to Grade 4 (Std 2) promotion is based on performance in one language and Mathematics.
 - 4.4.4.2 From Grade 5 (Std 3) onwards, one language must be passed.
 - 4.4.4.3 From Grade 10 to Grade 12 two languages must be passed, one on first language level, and the other on at least second language level. At least one of these languages must be an official language.
 - 4.4.4.4 Subject to national norms and standards as determined by the Minister of Education, the level of achievement required for promotion shall be determined by the provincial education departments (DoE, 1997:5-6).

Analysis of Language in Education Policy

Broadly speaking, the aims of the policy are to facilitate learning and promote communication between South Africans through the development of “additive multilingualism”. However, in practice, their effect might be to counter both these aims. Except for Grades 10 to 12, only one language (as opposed to two prior to 1994) is now compulsory for promotion purposes. This could result in learners

1 Curriculum Policy changes to be introduced in 2011 state that English should be taught as a subject from Grade 1. The argument for this recommendation is that if English is introduced earlier as a subject, learners will be able to use it more effectively as a medium in Grade 4. However, this does not take into account the disjuncture between English as a subject and as a medium. The demands made on learners in English as a subject are nowhere near what are required to use it as medium of instruction.

being less multilingual (in a formal sense) than in the past. It is assumed that language development would take place in content subject teaching and learning, hence it would not be necessary for learners to demonstrate their proficiency through language as subject. But, as argued elsewhere “given the very poor learning conditions existing at most schools and the virtual non-existence of a language across the curriculum approach, the chances of such language development happening are very slim indeed” (Desai & Taylor, 1997: 174). In addition, given the general lack of awareness of the role of language in learning, specialist language teachers will continue to play an important role in developing learners’ language abilities.

Although the policy document is a serious attempt to address the linguistic inequalities of the past, a number of implicit tensions run through the document. I will focus on what I consider to be one of the main tensions in the document – that is, “the choice factor”. Despite the fact that the Soweto uprising of 1976 serves as a grim reminder that no state can afford to impose a language policy on learners, I would like to argue that the new policy document errs on the side of allowing too much choice. Let me explain what I mean by this. During the apartheid era, promoting the use of African languages as languages of learning was often perceived as an attempt to “ghettoise” African learners and deny them access to the mainstream of South African life. This perception persists. Therefore, unless such individual choice is accompanied by a public awareness campaign around language and learning issues, and a massive injection of resources, both material and human, the prejudices of the past are likely to militate against individual learners choosing African languages as languages of learning. In my opinion, the state would have to play a more interventionary role if it wishes to extend the use of African languages as languages of learning beyond the initial years of schooling.

The “choice factor” is further compounded by the pull of globalisation. The argument for an English-mainly policy is often based on the premise that we can compete internationally only through the medium of English. As Chinua Achebe has put it, “the fatalistic logic of the unassailable position of English” takes over (Achebe cited in Ngugi, 1986: 9). If learners were acquiring English

effectively, then there would not be much of a problem with such thinking, but English remains an unattainable goal for most learners, not only as a subject, but also as a language through which learners can access knowledge. The various academic development programmes offered to learners at tertiary level to facilitate their access to knowledge via English bear testimony to the failure of mainly-English policies at school level, not only in South Africa, but in Africa and elsewhere.

In practice, a transition model is applied in that African languages are used for the first three years of schooling only as transition to English medium of instruction in Grade 4. Although it is not explicitly stated in the policy that English should be the medium of instruction after Grade 3, the use of African languages as languages of instruction is perceived by parents as one of the ways of blocking learners' access to lucrative socio-economic avenues which are associated with competence in English.

Obviously, everyone would like to be proficient in the language(s) of the economy. Thus parents or school governing bodies at many schools choose English as a medium of instruction for their children. The main concern in this regard, however, is that despite the early shift to English medium of instruction, many black learners, especially in the former Department of Education and Training (DET) schools show low levels of English competency by the time they enter tertiary education (i.e. after nine years of English medium of instruction). Of course, this may be associated with a number of factors such as the level of teachers' competence in English, the amount of exposure to English, how English as a language is taught in black schools, and many others. Certainly these factors influence learners' acquisition and construction of knowledge which is important not only in academic terms, but in socio-economic advancement as well. Unfortunately, the hegemony of English impacts negatively on mainly those who were disadvantaged in the past.

Skewed power relations: intellectual hegemony of those proficient in English

English has become the language of communication and transaction (*lingua franca*) between many developed and developing countries.

The global market also perpetuates and strengthens dependency of developing countries on developed countries through the economy which demands proficiency in English for successful communication between rich and poor countries. Unfortunately the notion of linguistic and economic dependency occurs at the expense of African languages which have lost their local status in different sectors of life including education, economy, etc.

Educationally learners become “winners or losers” depending on the language they bring to the classroom. For example, those learners whose home language is the language of learning and teaching tend to be “winners” over those whose home languages are not used for teaching and learning. In the South African context where the majority of black learners are taught in English, they experience educational disadvantages in relation to their English or Afrikaans-speaking counterparts who are taught in their home languages throughout their educational career.

The hegemony of English could also be explained in terms of intellectual dependency in that it is perceived to be the gate keeper to academic knowledge. That is, those who are competent in English usually have better epistemological access to education than those with limited proficiency in this language. The effects of the use of English as a medium in South African classrooms are evident in a number of research studies which show a strong correlation between language of instruction and academic performance (Nomlomo, 2007; Langenhoven, 2005; Desai 2003).

Learner performance in South Africa

There is general agreement that there is a crisis in school education in South Africa, particularly in the schools that serve the poor. This crisis is characterised in particular by very poor literacy and numeracy levels amongst school children. It is also characterised by a third of young people between the ages of 18 and 22, about 2.8 million young persons, being “idle” – they are not in schools, nor in Further Education and Training (FET) colleges or universities, or in employment.

Literacy levels in South Africa currently pose one of the most severe challenges to the state. The Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) 2006 found that “the vast majority of South

African pupils are not proficient readers as measured by PIRLS, and Grade 4 and Grade 5 pupils' ability to switch from learning to read to reading to learn during the Intermediate Phase is diminished. South African reading performance does not compare with Grade 4 pupils internationally despite being on average 1 to 2 years older than their international counterparts" (Howie et al., 2008). Similarly the Southern and Eastern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQII) evaluation for Grade 6 found that "for South Africa overall, the percentage of Grade 6 learners who reached the Minimum level of mastery in the Reading Test was 35.1% and only 18.4% reached the Desirable level of mastery" (Moloi & Strauss, 2005: 183). It is clear that the English mainly policy is not working. What needs to happen to address this crisis?

State intervention in language in education policy or organic developments from below

A concept that has emerged recently and which is gaining ground in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics circles is "linguistic citizenship". It is often used as a foil for the concept "linguistic human rights" or "language rights". Stroud and Heugh (2003: 18) have the following to say: "Linguistic citizenship pertains to a view of language as a symbolic, material, intimate and global resource in the service of participatory governance." The operative word here is "resource". The notion of "linguistic citizenship" sees language as a resource that speakers can use to their advantage. Interestingly, proponents of this concept tend to imply that the benefits accruing to exercising "multilingual repertoires" are usually realised in informal economic settings such as market places. As they indicate, "Linguistic citizenship ... highlights how multilingually constructed markets outside of the formal comprise the foremost means whereby marginalised speakers engage with a transformative politics of recognition and redistribution (Stroud and Heugh, 2003: 19). Language is used very broadly to refer to linguistic repertoires spanning a continuum rather than focussing on a single language. Proponents of this concept such as Stroud, Heugh and Blommaert valorise "unofficial local varieties" as opposed to what they refer to as "essentialist identities of standard languages". They argue that linguistic repertoires develop organically (in the market place and

elsewhere) often across languages. According to them an “essentialist” focus on mother tongue or standard language is not helpful as it does not acknowledge and valorise linguistic developments “from below” and further marginalises the marginalised.

How does this relate to language and education? One of the purposes of education is to expose pupils to the standard variety of a language, particularly the written variety. The question that comes to mind is how will this happen (in African languages) if the focus is not on an “essentialist” standard variety but on an unofficial local variety? Will we not be depriving pupils of epistemological access to the curriculum if we do not focus on developing competence in a standard variety? Are we not “ghettoising” speakers of marginalised languages and confining them to the market place by not enabling their access into the formal economy? An institute based in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape, the Further Education and Training Institute (FETI), recently hosted a presentation from the United Kingdom and South Africa on which criteria employers look for in prospective employees. In both countries proficiency in Standard English, both in the written form and oral form, came out tops.

Concluding remarks

In a country such as South Africa where difference has historically meant inequality, there is tremendous suspicion around mother-tongue education. It is wrongly assumed that equality equals English-medium education for all. On the contrary, equality equals mother-tongue education for all plus effective access to English if English is not the mother tongue of pupils. For equal education to be realised, there has to be intervention on the part of the state. Devolving language in education policy decisions to malfunctioning school governing bodies is an abdication on the national and provincial government’s part. The state needs to take responsibility for language-in-education policy, certainly at school level at least. Choices facing pupils and their parents have to be real choices, so that schools do not resort to default positions which existed before 1994.

Present practices still privilege English, and to a lesser extent, Afrikaans-speaking pupils. For this to change, we need a twin-

pronged thrust: Expose pupils to mother-tongue education, whilst at the same time providing them with quality English language subject teaching. However, present practices are likely to continue, unless speakers of African languages take up the fight for mother-tongue education – warts and all. This fight is not likely to be organised by the African elite who tend to send their children to former white, coloured and Indian schools.

The evidence points to the fact that linguistic practices from below, regardless of how creative and innovative they are, cannot change power dynamics in unequal societies such as in South Africa. There needs to be a gradual approach of extending the nine African languages as media of instruction, initially until the end of Grade 6 at least. The state needs to give more direction and provide resources, particularly digital projects which will make African languages attractive to young people.

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Taught language or talked language: Second language teaching strategies in an isiXhosa beginners' class at the University of Cape Town

Tessa Dowling

Introduction

Paul Seedhouse, an important commentator and theorist on second language (L2) acquisition theories and practices, argues in a seminal discussion that:

L2 classroom interaction has a specifiable organization which transforms task as work-plan into task-in-process, intended pedagogy into actual pedagogy. Therefore, the main focus of L2 teaching research should be on what actually happens, that is, on the task-in-process, rather than what is intended to happen, that is, on the task-as-workplan (Seedhouse, 2004: 95).

In this chapter I hope to demonstrate that when the language teacher reflects on the linguistic and geosemiotic landscape of the natural environment of the target language, and tries to recreate such an environment in the classroom, the result is a more productive and positive language learning experience for both students and teacher than if the classroom had remained a linguistically neutral space.

I argue that the more classroom communication activities and experiences mirror the communicative events of the natural spoken environment, the more willing students become to communicate fearlessly and to negotiate meaning creatively.

Background

The first semester course, *isiXhosa*¹ *Intensive A*, offered by the African Languages Section in the School of Languages and Literatures at the University of Cape Town (UCT), is a popular language option for students coming from the United States of America and other countries.² While at UCT, these students hope to spend time on various service-orientated projects in the townships of Cape Town, so it makes sense for them to learn either Afrikaans or isiXhosa.³ The reluctance of *South African* English-speaking students to study African languages is a complex issue and one that needs serious academic and practical attention. Govender (2008), writing for *The Times* newspaper, reported that in the 2008 academic year, 113 902 matric students chose Afrikaans as an additional language, but only 1 584 opted to study isiXhosa at that level.

The reasons for this choice are historical, political and social, and cannot be covered in the scope of this chapter. One important issue that I have had personal experience of, however, is the lack of trained teachers able to teach isiXhosa effectively as a second language. This has resulted in learners losing interest in African languages and opting rather to study Afrikaans – a language which boasts excellent learning materials and skilled teachers.

In order to improve the status of African languages as second languages, I believe that we urgently need to develop bold new teaching strategies that will retain and attract school learners and university students. I also believe that we cannot isolate the debate around mother-tongue education in African languages from the

1 IsiXhosa is an agglutinative, tonal language of the Bantu family, spoken by 18% of the South African population. Being a Nguni language, it is closely related to isiZulu.

2 By April 2008, a total of 83 students had enrolled for IsiXhosa Intensive A. Of this enrolment, 42% were overseas students while 21% were students who had another African language as a first language, whom I shall refer to as “near mother-tongue speakers”. Only 37% of students were English- or Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

3 IsiXhosa is spoken by 831 608 people in the City of Cape Town, and it is the second most dominant language after Afrikaans, which has 1 198 989 speakers (Census, 2001).

status of the African language as a second language. If more teachers with English or Afrikaans as a first language were competent to teach in the medium of an African language, mother-tongue education generally would greatly benefit. Currently, mother-tongue instruction in the African languages is restricted to mother-tongue speakers of those languages, because few Afrikaans- and English-speaking teachers are competent to teach in the medium of an African language. This deprives students of the rich skills base that these teachers represent.

For these reasons, when, in 2009, I took on the coordination of *isiXhosa Intensive A* at UCT, I was determined to design a course that would be attractive, useful and academically sound. I wanted, in at least a small way, to demonstrate to English- and Afrikaans-speakers that it is entirely possible to become reasonably competent in an African language in a short period of time. Additionally, near mother-tongue speakers, who would quickly master the language, would gain access to language teaching methodologies and approaches that would benefit their future educational experiences.

I was also aware that students would be practising their new language skills in the townships and I therefore wanted to create a linguistic environment in the classroom that mirrored the linguistic environment of the township. In this paper I will discuss my rationale for doing this, as well as the second language methodologies that support such reasoning. I will exemplify some of the teaching strategies I employed and give a brief analysis of students' oral and written performance in this new course.

Rationale and methodology

For 20 years I have taught many students needing to learn isiXhosa for a variety of different reasons. The one factor that I consistently use as an indexer for communicative success in the second language is *willingness to communicate* (WTC). The language teacher, language course and language setting all need to strengthen the student's willingness to communicate. MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément and Noels (1998: 8) argue that:

Enjoyment and satisfaction in learning and using the L2 may encourage the individual to apply a more intense and thorough

effort to the learning process. This attitude could develop as a result of *positive experiences in the language classroom* and in other contexts where there has been opportunity to learn and use the language. (author's emphasis)

I know that for many of my UCT students, the degree to which my language classroom was fun and motivating was instrumental not only in getting them speaking the L2 in the lecture room, but in making them feel positive about using their isiXhosa in other environments in which it was the preferred language of communication.

In addition to creating a classroom environment that provided positive language experiences, I was also aware of the fact that both I and the students would have to assume certain roles and that this in turn would mean subscribing to a particular method or style of teaching. The proliferation of language teaching methodologies can be overwhelming for any teacher hoping to get some good, sensible advice on how best to teach the target language, and sometimes the vast amount of theoretical material available can inhibit creativity because the teacher is so set on following a particular method she cannot play to her own strengths or is too intimidated even to try.

Freeman (2007: 894), noting the unhappy fit between research and practice, observes:

Over the years, there has been much speculation about this lack of compatibility, or lack of fit, between SLA⁴ research and classroom teaching. The relationship has been characterized in archetypal terms by a contention of distance between the two domains. In this view, theory and practice are mutually alienated.

Freeman (2007: 904) later concludes:

In the sense that research and practice “fit” together, they make connections that influence thinking, theorizing, and study, on the one hand, and doing, activity, and practice, on the other. In the sense that research and practice are “fitting of” one another,

4 SLA refers to second language acquisition.

they each deserve such interconnection, however tenuous and serendipitous.

It is therefore important for the success of learning experience in the language classroom that a language teacher should have a good idea of the various methodologies available in order to make an informed choice that best suits not only the students but the teacher herself.

Rodgers (2001: 2) neatly summarises the roles “defined for teachers and learners within various methods” in the following chart:

TEACHING METHODS AND TEACHER & LEARNER ROLES

Method	Teacher Roles	Learner Roles
Situational Language Teaching	Context Setter Error Corrector	Imitator Memoriser
Audio-lingualism	Language Modeller Drill Leader	Pattern Practiser Accuracy Enthusiast
Communicative Language Teaching	Needs Analyst Task Designer	Improviser Negotiator
Total Physical Response	Commander Action Monitor	Order Taker Performer
Community Language Learning	Counsellor Paraphraser	Collaborator Whole Person
The Natural Approach	Actor Props User	Guesser Immerser
Suggestopedia	Auto-hypnotist Authority Figure	Relaxer True-Believer
Methods and Teacher & Learner Roles		

Having researched these different approaches, I decided that I could benefit from all of them. The “Natural Approach” appealed to me most, however, because being an amateur actor, I knew that I could exploit my skills (and the relative fluency of the near mother-tongue students in the class) optimally to make students feel that they were “immersed” in a community of diverse isiXhosa speakers – all with different needs, social pre-occupations, language registers and varieties. This did not, however, mean that I saw myself as exempt from designing tasks or from being an error corrector. Rather, it

meant that having adopted an approach that suited my personality and skills, I had greater freedom to be myself – thus creating a more authentic and tangibly enjoyable learning context than if I had followed a methodology with which I was not comfortable.

In addition, this approach enabled me to create a context for learning isiXhosa that I felt was more appropriate, given the socio-cultural environments within which isiXhosa speakers operate. To teach isiXhosa pretending that most isiXhosa speakers live in quiet suburbs with hushed (employed) neighbours would be anachronistic and pedagogically ineffectual. Most people who speak isiXhosa in Cape Town live in townships, which are quite different linguistic and social spaces from the leafy suburbs of the middle classes that are inhabited predominantly by English-speakers.

Again, Freeman's article suggests that recognising political and social realities is the way forward for language teachers:

The future probably holds more of this direction, in which teachers' understandings of their work will become more central. The application/implication templates of research and of teaching methods will be supplanted by local rationales anchored in teachers' views of their practices, within the larger social and political settings of that work (2007: 904).

Which isiXhosa do I teach?

The issue of which language register to adopt and which language variety to teach can be challenging, with many teachers preferring to adopt the standard variety as their target language. Ellis (2007: 10-11), however, argues that the L2 is best learnt when learners have a "clear social need" for it; when initial learning occurs within an L1 speaking group and when success is not measured "in terms of a set of norms based on a standard form of the language".

I realised that I fortuitously had all the right ingredients for optimal language learning: my American students as well as most of my South African students had a clear social need for isiXhosa (township projects, research work), they were going to learn isiXhosa in an L1 speaking group initially and I had decided that I would

teach not only standard isiXhosa but *tsotsi-taal*⁵ as well.

In discussing the issue of using non-standard varieties of English in second-language classrooms, Cummins and Davison (2007: 30) argue that most textbooks are instruments of “standard language ideology”:

They present the illusion of a uniform target (standard) language, assuming, despite evidence to the contrary, that uniformity is the norm.

Students responded extremely positively to the inclusion of *tsotsi-taal* in the course – they said this was generally the first variety they heard in the townships since the young men were more forthcoming and talkative. I did, however, ensure that whenever we used any slang varieties in class, students were made aware of the standard vocabulary, and I would try to introduce some discussion as to the differences and possible origins of the slang words in order to frame their learning within a sociolinguistic context.

The textbook

The first thing I did was to create a textbook with vivid pictures of real isiXhosa speakers in their real homes in a real township, namely Masiphumelele.⁶ These speakers were all friends of my assistant, Lona Qubathi; they had been informed of the project and had fully consented to being photographed. They were also given copies of the photographs.

I then created the scenario that I was taking the student by the hand into the township, introducing her to the many different landmarks, shops, people and personalities that shape this landscape. I called the textbook “*Bamb’ isandla sam*” [Hold my hand] because I was aware of how daunting it can be at first to enter a society and landscape that differs so radically from one’s own and to be expected to communicate in such a setting. As I introduced the students to Lona’s friends and neighbours, I did not avoid the drunk, the lecherous, the bold or the

5 *Tsotsi-taal* is an urban slang spoken mainly by young men in South Africa’s black townships.

6 Masiphumelele is a township situated between the middle-class suburbs of Fish Hoek and Kommetjie near Cape Town.

boring. Society is not populated exclusively by the polite and well-behaved (linguistically or otherwise): different people communicate and behave in different ways, and new language learners need to learn how to use their new language skills appropriately and effectively, adapting them to suit different audiences.

I anticipated the kinds of things the typical isiXhosa speaker would say when introduced to my English speaking students, and the kinds of answers my students would want to give, and I then integrated these dialogues into the textbook. I also included pictures of the linguistic landscapes that characterise townships – home-made shop signs, taxi slogans and more formal signs. These signs are written in basic isiXhosa allowing students to feel immediately empowered by being able to understand them almost at once. Each lesson included extensive drilling and questions that were covered in class and tutorials.

Here are examples of the signs I used in the textbook and on which the students, in turn, based imaginary shop signs advertising their own products.

Figure 1

(Translation: We sew all clothes at satisfactory prices. Trousers cut R10.)

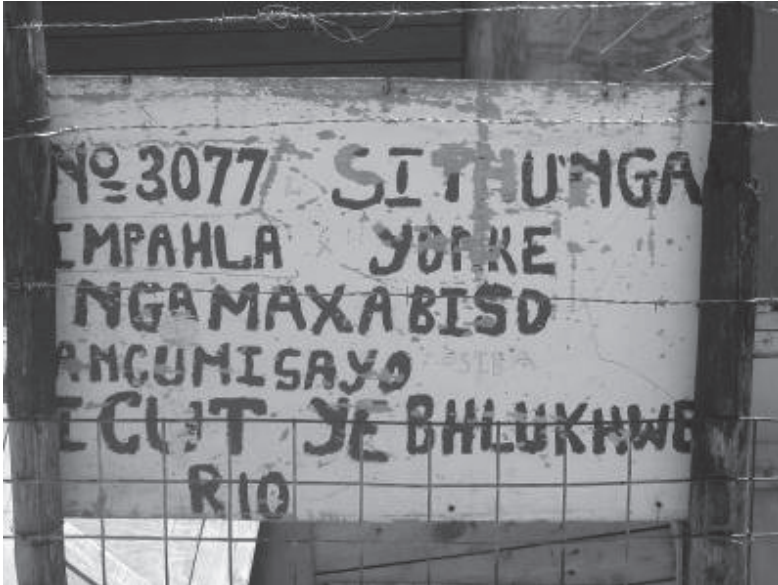
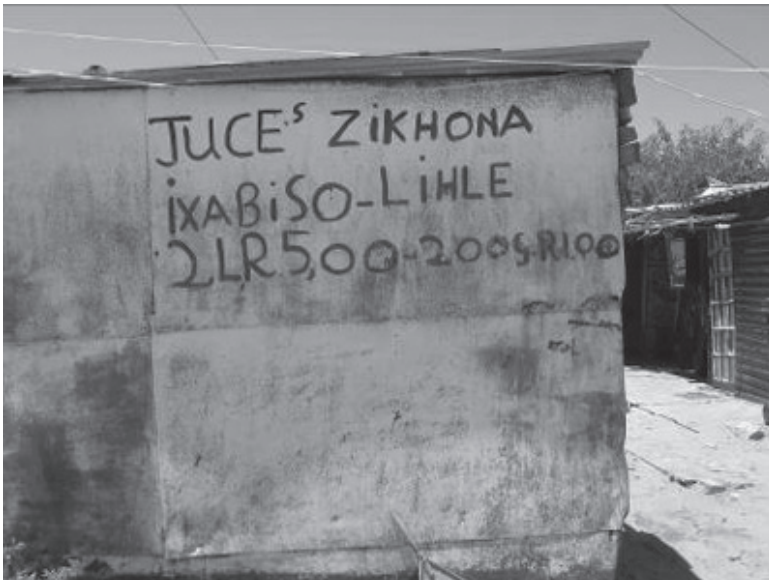


Figure 2

(Translation: There are juices – good price – 2L R5.00.)



Here is a sample page from the textbook:

Figure 3

(Translation: This is Bulelani. Bulelani is employed. He is employed on a contract. Bulelani likes to SMS a lot. He supports Pirates.)

OK. Masidibane nabammelwane bam.

OK. Let us meet my neighbours.



UKUSPANA means TO WORK in township slang. The standard Xhosa word is UKUPHANGELA which means TO BE EMPLOYED or UKUSEBENZA which means TO WORK.

Figure 3

Lo nguBulelani.

UBulelani uyaspana.

Uspana kwikhontrak.

UBulelani uthanda uku-esemesa kakhulu!

Usapota iPirates.

The scenarios

Life is full of scenarios, and township life in particular plays out various people's circumstances in the streets, shops and shebeens. People call each other, scold, flirt, apologise and shout warnings. I attempted to mimic these communicatively rich scenarios in my class, in order to make the learning experience more real and interesting.

Whatever situation we covered in class, I, as the teacher, assumed the persona of one of the isiXhosa speaking characters who had

been introduced in the textbook. The students were encouraged and cajoled to speak by those characters, with whom they grew familiar and about whom they started to show genuine interest. They knew how to soothe me if I were Vuyokazi irritated by a neighbour and how to offer me a drink if I were Shakes. I could also just act the part of a child with whom they could play, using simple, direct commands.

In every scenario students had to assume the personality of a character and to know what that person wanted the character I was playing to do – for instance, to be happy, to buy something, to fall in love with them.

Dinapoli (2001) clarifies the types of questions students should ask themselves when adopting a particular character:

In order to get students to interact creatively, the implicit aspects of the inner environments of the characters need to be channeled into the explicit context of a situation. We can accomplish this by encouraging students to use their creative faculties when analyzing case studies. Following are six questions that many professional actors ask themselves when creating a character from a given text. These questions are most relevant to the dramatisation of case studies.

1. Who am I?
2. What are my circumstances?
3. What is my relationship to the person I am talking to?
4. What do I want?
5. What keeps me from getting what I want?
6. What can I do to overcome the obstacles?

I noticed that when my students knew the answers to all these questions, their communicative competence improved. In the shop scenario, for example, they were the shopkeepers. Their shops were stocked with an assortment of products – all of which would be slightly overpriced. What they wanted was to make a sale. What was keeping them from getting what they wanted was my apparent lack of interest. What they had to do to overcome this obstacle was to attract me with as much isiXhosa speaking as possible. The more

isiXhosa they spoke, the more I lingered in their shops and finally made a purchase.

The lyrics

Just as townships in the Western Cape are full of the sounds of people speaking isiXhosa, so too are they redolent with the sounds of isiXhosa pop songs thumping out of taxis and homes. Music is a shared experience in African society, so if your neighbour is listening to the radio there is no need to turn down the volume – in fact the volume is more likely to be turned up so that fellow citizens can enjoy the beat.

In order to mimic this musical experience, once a week I would play an isiXhosa pop song to the students, having printed out the words and translations for them. This activity, which I first saw as just a nice way to end a lesson, soon suggested itself as an integral part of the language learning process. Kramer (2001: 29) argues convincingly for the inclusion of pop songs in the language classroom:

In contrast to isolated dictations or substitution drills (as in the Rassias method), songs, with their micro narrative-like structure, encapsulate a coherent context more suitable for understanding vocabulary; they also aid students in acquiring new rules of the target language because their texts (when properly selected) contain understandable messages that include the new rules.

I noticed that in the final written and oral examinations, the students easily recalled and translated phrases and vocabulary taken from the pop songs we had listened to in class. In a simple comprehension activity, for example, students reproduced with ease the phrases “*Sondela*” [Come closer], “*Ndihamba nawe*” [I am going with you] and “*Bamb’ isandla sam*” [Hold my hand] – all hook lines in isiXhosa pop songs by Ringo and Mafikizolo – while other phrases that had occurred in the textbook a number of times were not as readily remembered.

The lyrics in Ringo’s song “*Sondela*” particularly resonated with students. On one occasion, as they left the class after listening to this song, I observed them spontaneously reproducing the

words and music among themselves – the tune is so catchy and the words so easy, they just couldn't help singing it. What I found particularly gratifying was their incorporation of these lyrics into their general communicative activities. For example, when they had other task-based activities to do, such as in the scenario of the shopkeeper trying to interest someone in a product, they would use the vocabulary from this song to great effect, sometimes just changing a pronoun in order to convey the new meaning they needed: "*Sondela! Uyayithanda le cellphone? Yeyakho for R300!*" [Come closer! Do you like this cellphone? It is yours for R300!"] There are numerous language extension activities that can be based on the lexicon, morphology and simple present tense grammar of the song's first verse. What is particularly interesting is that the students spontaneously internalised the grammar of the song to reproduce it later in a completely different context.

<i>Yeyam ndedwa yeyam</i>	She is mine only, she is mine
<i>Oh, ndiyayithanda le ntombi</i>	Oh, I love this girl
<i>Sondela, s'thandwa, sondela</i>	Come closer, beloved, come closer
<i>Nal' uthando lwam [lugcine lonke]</i>	Here is my love [keep it all]
<i>thath' uthando lwam</i>	Take my love

Sometimes a song allowed us to talk about a cultural issue – and since the curriculum included a weekly culture lecture, the students already had some elementary knowledge which they could apply when listening to a song. The song, *Ziphi iinkomo?* [Where are the cows?] by Caiphus Semanya, encouraged discussion around lobola, but I could also use it to teach some simple grammar using *-phi?* to ask the question "where?" as well as stating what is wanted: "*Ndifuna ...*" [I want ...].

Ziphi iinkomo zamalobola? Where are the cows for the lobola?
Latshon' ilanga, latshon' ilanga. The sun has set, the sun has set.
Watsh' uThandiwe, wathi, "Uyindoda, ziphi iinkomo?" Thandiwe said, she said "You are a man, where are the cows?"
"Mna, ndifuna abantwana, ndifuna umzi". "I want children, I want a home."

The activities – getting in the box, setting up shop

The classroom environment was greatly enhanced by the task-based activities which I gave students. One of the most successful was the “make your own shop sign and then attract people to your shop” activity. Students got into groups and spent just five minutes writing shop signs on cardboard. Then I called on each group to entice me, as a township dweller, into buying one of their products. If I asked for an item (e.g. batteries) that the shop had not advertised on their sign they had to tell me that they did not have such an item but suggest another one for me to buy.

Other tasks I set for students was to get me to do something. In one instance I climbed into a big box, closed the lid and waited for students to tell me to get out of the box, and how to get out of it. Students naturally called out “*Phuma!*” [Get out!] but were then stumped as to how to say “Put your leg over the side of the box” and would have to improvise using whatever other isiXhosa words they knew, or English words, that could help them articulate what they wanted to say, such as “*Faka umlenze ... phezulu ...*” [Put your leg ... up ...]. There was much hilarity, but there was also much language learning going on. I observed students discussing which words to use, which would be most appropriate, how to form a command, how best to utter it – they became the teachers and in so doing internalised the lexicon in a far more meaningful way than if I had just written the words on the board.

Teaching grammar

Although we had a lot of communicative fun in this class, once a week I would give a formal grammar lecture. ZhonggangGao (2001: 332) notes that:

Adult learners are able to comprehend the rules of grammar with the knowledge either from their first language or other experiences derived from their worldly knowledge. They are ready to apply the rules they have learned, and the rules of language will provide them with some perspective on the basic patterns of that language. With analysis of grammar rules and practice, they can induce or deduce meaningful hints out of these rules.

In other words, by offering rules of grammar to adult learners, we are offering them a useful and pragmatic tool to compensate for their lack of intuition on the target language.

In my class I tried to ensure that the grammar I taught was related to our communicative task-based activities. The greater the link between the two, the better able the student was to grasp fairly complex grammatical concepts. I noticed that if I did teach some aspect of grammar in isolation from a communicative task, it was far harder for them to remember the rules and patterns and an almost palpable panic set in as students saw grammar as an end in itself, rather than as a useful tool.

Student performances

Just over half the class, 51%, scored a first class pass for this course, and only 3% failed; 37% obtained either a lower second or upper second class pass and 7% a third class pass, and 2% did not sit for the examination.

I made sure that the final examination paper included phrases from the pop songs, shop signs similar to those they had seen in their textbooks and questions as to which register would be the most appropriate to adopt when talking to different people of different statuses and ages.

The oral examination took a similar approach. Apart from the conventional conversations with students about themselves and their families, we asked them to enact simple township or urban scenes. These they performed with great enjoyment and involvement, some even singing songs! Students demonstrated that what they had learnt in the course was that language cannot be isolated from the society in which it functions – and that the only way to become fluent in a language is to immerse oneself in a community of its speakers, whether in the township itself or in classroom simulations.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated that although our classroom activities are spatially isolated and alienated from the speech communities of the target language, we can, if we think creatively, construct language learning environments that mirror quite

effectively the real environments in which the language is spoken. In order to do this we need to attune ourselves to the geosemiotic landscapes of our target language communities as well as to the varieties of language spoken, the music listened to and the preoccupations of individual community members.

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Turn-allocation and learner participation in Grade 4 Science lessons in isiXhosa and English

Vuyokazi Nomlomo

Introduction

Any teaching–learning situation is characterised by interaction between the teacher and learners, and among learners themselves, which usually involves the use of language for communication purposes. The effectiveness of classroom interaction depends largely on, among other things, the learners’ proficiency level in the language of instruction and the extent to which they participate in the learning process. In other words, language and participation are central to classroom interaction.

While the language of instruction influences the extent and nature of learner participation in classroom interaction, the teacher’s pedagogical approaches and styles are also very important in facilitating learner involvement and participation in the teaching–learning process. The nature of classroom talk and the participation opportunities given to learners usually determine the nature of output of the learning process.

This chapter looks at teacher–learner interaction in science lessons where English and isiXhosa were used as languages of instruction. It analyses teacher–learner talk in science lessons in order to identify patterns of turn-allocation to learners. It also highlights the pedagogical implications of turn-allocation. Guided by the turn-

taking model which explains how people or speakers exchange turns in a talk, it analyses teacher and learner talk in two science lessons in order to identify the kinds of learning opportunities or turns allocated to learners to make meaning of the lessons. Turn-taking is an aspect of Conversational Analysis which studies and analyses naturally occurring talk (i.e. in real-life situations) by identifying patterns of action in the way talk is organised (Liddicoat, 2007; Hutchby and Wooffit, 2008).

In view of the above, this chapter seeks to address the research question: How do teachers allocate turns to learners in science lessons where languages of instruction differ? Specifically, the chapter looks at the kinds of turns given to learners in Grade 4 Science classes taught in English and isiXhosa respectively.

Research design and methodology

The research followed a qualitative and experimental design. The data collection process was part of the LOITASA Project which investigates the effects of using the learners' home language in the teaching and learning of science in the Intermediate Phase (Grades 4–6. In other words, the LOITASA Project extends the use of isiXhosa from Grade 4 where the learners normally shift to English medium after three years of mother-tongue education. Data were collected by means of classroom observations in two classes which were taught science in English and isiXhosa. For the purpose of this chapter, the lessons were video recorded and transcribed for the purpose of analysis.

The research participants were two (female) teachers and Grade 4 learners in two contrasting contexts. One of the groups was taught through the medium of their home language (isiXhosa), while the other group was taught in English. The two groups of learners were comparable in that both were taught the same topic or lesson, using the same set of materials, but in different languages. Secondly, the teachers planned the lessons together, although they delivered them differently, using different languages (English and isiXhosa).

Whilst the results of the first phase of the LOITASA Project (2003–2006) clearly showed learners' improved understanding and better academic achievement in science when taught through the medium of their home language (isiXhosa or Kiswahili) (Mwinsheikhe, 2003; Vuzo, 2005; Brock-Utne, 2004; Langenhoven, 2005; Nomlomo 2005,

2007), this chapter looks deeper into classroom practices in order to understand how teachers facilitate learner participation in their lessons through turn-allocation. It uses Conversational Analysis to unpack classroom practices in terms of turn-allocation in science lessons. In other words, Conversational Analysis is employed to investigate turn-taking as the basic condition of student participation in classrooms.

Conversational Analysis and turn-taking

A conversation or talk is a sequential process which allows a change of speakers at different times. The change of speakers entails taking turns which usually takes the form of adjacent pairs which determine the relationship between the current, prior and next utterance in a conversation (Silverman, 1998). The turns occur at appropriate or relevant places to allow transition from one speaker to the other. The order and size of turns vary, with no pre-determined rules to control the distribution of turns (Liddicoat, 2007; Silverman, 1998).

Conversational Analysis (CA) is an empirical discipline which studies human interaction. It draws from ethno-methodology which seeks to understand human social interaction in terms of organisation and orderliness. It analyses how participants understand and respond to each other in a talk, while identifying how sequences of action emerge to promote understanding (Liddicoat, 2007; Hutchby and Wooffit, 2008). Educationally, it takes into account how classroom talk is organised as coherent and meaningful sequences of actions, i.e. turns (Schlegloff, 2007; Silverman, 1998). That is, it accounts for the language used in the talk in order to make meaning of the talk. It relies on video and tape recordings as sources of talk in interaction which can be transcribed and examined for analysis purposes.

Turn-taking is an aspect of Conversational Analysis which deals with the change of turns in an interaction i.e. how participants exchange talk. It is a socially-constructed activity which is organised and managed by the participants themselves within the interaction process. It involves two interrelated components: a turn-constructual component and a turn-allocation component (Hutchby and Wooffit, 2008; Liddicoat, 2007; Schegloff, 2007; Silverman, 1998). The turn-constructual component comprises syntactical, intonational and pragmatic aspects that indicate when a turn is possibly complete, while the turn-allocation component

has to do with speaker selection techniques (i.e. selection of the next speaker or self selection) (Liddicoat, 2007; Silverman, 1998). Therefore, turn-taking is a sequential and rule-governed process with no fixed length of turns (Liddicoat, 2007). That is, the length of turns varies from speaker to speaker, while the turns are enacted by the speakers in a conversation or talk.

Turns can be allocated in the following ways:

- (i) The current speaker can select the next speaker (e.g. by asking a question, gazing towards a particular person, by addressing him/her by name).
- (ii) The next speaker may self select (i.e. when the speaker is not selected in the previous talk). Self selection does not constrain who the speaker should be.
- (iii) The current speaker continues (Liddicoat, 2007; Silverman, 1998).

While acknowledging the three turn-allocation strategies mentioned above, it is crucial to understand that turn allocation in the classroom is usually initiated by the teacher. This is due to the unequal status of the teacher and the learners in the classroom. As a result, the teacher usually takes most of the turns in classroom interaction (Hajer and Koole, 2008). In relation to the above, the aim of this chapter is to examine the kinds and nature of turns that learners get from their teachers.

Analysis of classroom data

As stated above, this chapter will focus on how learners get turns from their teachers. It will further explore how the given turns facilitate learning. A comparative approach will be applied in order to identify points of similarity and differences in the two languages used for teaching and learning. It must be acknowledged, however, that whilst the chapter applies certain aspects of Conversational Analysis, the analysis is more qualitative than quantitative. In other words, whilst some actions may be better explained in the frequency in which they occurred, this chapter follows a descriptive approach. Secondly, the transcription of data focused mainly on words, without getting into the prosodic level of the data. As a result, the fragments

used in the chapter only capture the utterances of the participants, and do not show the prosodic structure such as intonation, speed, pauses, overlaps, etc.

What kind of turns do learners get?

Questions and individual turns

Generally, questioning is one of the common turn-taking strategies in classroom interaction. The questions are usually initiated by the teachers, and directed either to the whole class or to an individual learner for various purposes such as educational and classroom management. For instance, educational questions usually assess learners' academic knowledge while management questions have to do with classroom management (e.g. maintaining discipline).

The general pattern emerging from analysed data shows that both teachers, irrespective of the language of instruction, allocate turns to learners through questioning. That is, learners get turns in the form of questions. Most of the teachers' questions are not cognitively demanding e.g. some of the questions promote guessing and reinforce short or one-word answers. The following fragments reflect how questioning is used as a turn-allocation strategy and the kinds of questions asked by the teachers.

In Extracts (A) and (B) below, the first turns given to learners are in the form of questions in lines 1 and 10. The learners have to respond to the teachers' questions in order to complete the first adjacent pair of the turn (i.e. exchange of talk between two speakers). In both cases the interaction or talk continues as the teachers initiate or pose more questions to the learners.

Although one of the answers in Extract (A) below is a full sentence (line 2), the second answer in line 4 is appropriate but short due to guessing. The guessing is reinforced by the teacher's question in line 3. Likewise, in Extract (B), although the questioning is in the form of a game (as learners have to catch a ball for their turns), all the questions require one-word answers (e.g. filling in a missing word). In Extract (B) there is an absence of response in line 15 and the teacher doesn't intervene or give feedback, instead the absence of a learner response makes her change her way of questioning. All her questions, however, require one-word answers as shown in lines 11, 13 and 17.

Extract (A) IsiXhosa Group

- | | | |
|---|---------|--|
| 1 | Teacher | Ziintoni ezenziwa ngofele?
<i>What things are made from skin?</i> |
| 2 | Lulu | Yiwulu Miss
<i>It is wool Miss</i> |
| 3 | Teacher | Ngofele. Izinto ezenziwe ngofele. Akakho umntu onokuqaja into esinokuyenza ngofele?
<i>With the skin. Things made of skin. Is there someone who can guess what we make from the skin?</i> |
| 4 | Zola | Igubu Miss
<i>A drum Miss</i> |
| 5 | Teacher | Igubu ... Very good!
<i>A drum ... Very good!</i> |

Extract (B) English group

- | | | |
|----|-----------|--|
| 10 | Teacher | Give me an example of any domestic animal that you know. (She throws the ball to one of the learners to catch and answer.) |
| 11 | Bhongo | Dog |
| 12 | Teacher | Pass the ball over.
(Learner passes the ball to another learner.) |
| 13 | Siphokazi | Sheep |
| 14 | Teacher | Pass it on |
| 15 | Anele | (Quiet) |
| 16 | Teacher | Cow supplies us with (dash, dash) for the babies. |
| 17 | Lutho | Milk |
| 18 | Teacher | With milk for the babies. Pass it over.
Milk processed provides us with ... (dash, dash) |
| 19 | Joy | Cheese |

In both classes, learners are allocated turns as individuals, and there are no cases of group turns. Although it is common that learners bid for turns in classroom interaction by raising their hands, the teacher usually gives a turn to one individual or selects a particular learner to answer the question as shown in Extracts (A) and (B) above. The data above suggest that the change of language of instruction does not impact the quality of teachers' questioning styles. Hence we find more or less the same kind of questions in both groups despite there being a different language of instruction.

In some instances, group turns occur in cases of choral answers where learners give an answer as a group (e.g. Yes or No Miss!). According to the analysed data, the choral answers play two roles in classroom interaction, regardless of the medium of instruction:

- (i) confirming and emphasising certain aspects of the lesson content to ascertain that learners understand and
- (ii) managing or controlling the class (e.g. the teacher gives instructions and learners confirm that they follow the given instructions).

The choral responses are a means of turn-exchange between the teacher and the learners, but there is usually no feedback following the choral responses as shown in Extracts (C) and (D).

Extract (C) IsiXhosa

- | | | |
|----|----------|---|
| 33 | Teacher | Iiglavu ... Izingxobo zezandla. Siyazazi sonke iiglavu.
<i>Gloves ... Hand gloves. We all know the gloves.</i> |
| 34 | Learners | Yes Miss! |
| 35 | Teacher | Igusha iyatya njengokuba nathi sisitya.
Itya umngqusho?
<i>A sheep eats as we also eat. Does it eat samp?</i> |
| 36 | Learners | Hayi Miss!
<i>No Miss</i> |

Extract (D) English group

- | | | |
|----|----------|---|
| 27 | Teacher | Is horse a mammal? |
| 28 | Learners | Yes Miss. |
| 29 | Teacher | People are mammals. Do you agree? |
| 30 | Learners | Yes Miss. |
| 31 | Teacher | <i>Sisekunye bantu?</i>
(Are we still together, people?) |
| 32 | Learners | Yes Miss. |

The choral answers given in Extract (C) are used to confirm what the teacher is saying while checking what the learners know about the lesson (line 35). Similarly, in Extract (D) the teacher checks her learners' comprehension in line 31 and the choral answer is a means of assuring the teacher that they understand the lesson (line 32). It is interesting to note that the teacher switches from English to the learners' home language in line 31. This could be a way of assuring that everyone in the class understands the lesson before she moves on to another section of work. She uses the learners' home language to make sure that the message is clear to everyone. The question in line 27 assesses learners' knowledge and the response in line 28 displays what the learners know. In line 29 the teacher gives a statement and learners have to agree or disagree with the statement in line 30. This kind of questioning also promotes guessing.

The negative side of choral answers, however, is that some learners may go with the flow, and the teacher may think that everything is going well. Some learners are shy to show that they do not understand, and choral answers allow them to hide in the big group's response.

Short turns

One of the features of turn-taking is variation in the number of participants and the size of turns (Liddicoat, 2007). In other words, some of the participants may get longer or shorter turns than others. The kinds of questions asked by teachers often determine the nature and length of turns allocated to learners (i.e. in verbal interaction). For instance, questions that require elaborated answers from learners usually result in long turns. On the other hand, short responses translate into short turns. In the classroom situation, especially where

teachers apply traditional approaches, it is a common phenomenon that teachers get longer turns than learners.

According to Koole and Berenst (2008), the teacher is usually the main actor in turn-taking in the classroom, with limited place for pupils' contributions. The analysed data show a similar pattern of teachers' long turns and learners' short turns. The teachers' long turns become a monologue where they talk alone, without involving the learners. As the lessons are more question-based in both classes, the teachers' questions are correctly phrased and appropriate in terms of facilitating the exchange of turns in classroom talk in both groups. However, most of the questions do not encourage learners' elaborated responses and critical thinking but instead require learners to give definitions of terms and to retrieve facts in the form of short answers as shown in Extracts (E) and (F) below. Due to the lack of learner involvement in the talk, the monologue makes the lesson more teacher-centred than learner-centred.

Extract (E) IsiXhosa Group

- | | | |
|----|---------|---|
| 78 | Teacher | Iwulu senza ngayo iimpahla ezishushu, iimpahla zasebusika.
<i>We use wool to make warm clothes, winter clothes.</i> |
| 79 | | Nazi ezi mpahla zasebusika (pointing at her jersey)...
<i>Here are the winter clothes (showing her jersey)...</i> |
| 80 | | Le jezi inxitywe nguLuleka, ... nabanye ke abanxibe iijezi, ... not uLuleka yedwa...
<i>The jersey that is worn by Luleka (a learner), ... and others, ... not Luleka alone.</i> |
| 81 | | Ayinyanga igusha, sineendidi ngeendidi zayo.
<i>There is no single type of sheep, we have different types.</i> |
| 82 | | Yigusha (putting up a picture of a sheep and continues with the explanation).
<i>It is a sheep (putting up a picture of a sheep and continues with the explanation).</i> |

- 83 ... Kukho iigusha ezifuywayo kwakhona,
zifuyelwe ukuba zisinike ufele lwazo,...
nezinye ke iigusha.
*There are also sheep that are farmed, farmed
for their skin... and other sheep*
- 84 Yile siza kuthetha ngayo
It is what we are going to talk about...
- 85 Ezinye zezenyama, ezinye zezofele...
Some are for meat, others are for the skin...
- 86 Anditsho ukuba azinanyama,...
I'm not saying they do not have meat...
- 87 siyayitya inyama yazo
We eat their meat
- 88 but ke ikakhulu le yoboya iba noboya
obuninzi yona,
*but mostly the one for wool has too much
wool,*
- 89 yiyo ke le nto sithi yigusha yoboya.
that is why we call it a wool sheep.
- 90 Le yenyama iba nenyama eninzi,
91 ibe namathambo amakhulu nenyama
yabo ibe ninzi.
with big bones, and their meat is too much.
- 92 Yiyo loo nto sithi yigusha yenyama.
That is why we call them meat sheep.
- 93 Njengokuba sibona phaya kukho igusha
ekuthiwa yiMerino.
*As we see there, there is a sheep called a
Merino.*
- 94 Le gusha iyiMerino yona iyigusha
yantoni?
What is this Merino sheep for?
- 95 Learners Yoboya.
For wool.

In Extract (E) above, the teacher starts her turn at line 79 and finishes it with a question at line 94. The turn is long as she explains the different types of sheep, without involving the learners. Although the explanation is relevant and appropriate, the turn she allocates to her learners is a short one as it requires a short answer at line 95. The learners give a choral response to her question. Given the short answer, one would assume that the next turn is for the teacher to continue the talk as the turn is complete at line 95. Obviously, this kind of interaction is more teacher-centred as it gives very limited opportunity for learners to participate in the talk.

We see a similar pattern in Extract (F) where the teacher gives a long explanation about the Karoo. The explanation follows an absence of response from learners at line 56 and the teacher therefore saw a need to give some explanation. The explanation is a pedagogical and intervention strategy to convey new knowledge to learners. Although the teacher's explanation is appropriate in terms of the lesson content, it makes her turn longer, and it limits the learners' participation in the lesson.

The teacher also switches from English to the learners' home language (isiXhosa), which is her home language as well. The code switching can be explained in terms of the teacher's proficiency in the home language, and her feeling more comfortable with isiXhosa. The use of teachers' and learners' home language can also be seen as the best way of mediating learning by the teacher; in a language that everyone knows well. The teacher's turn ends with a less challenging question in line 72 which has the potential of leading to another long turn by the teacher.

Extract (F) English group

- | | | |
|----|----------|---|
| 56 | Teacher | Anikwazi nonke eKaroo? (<i>Don't you all know the Karoo?</i>) |
| 57 | Learners | (Quiet) |
| 58 | Teacher | Okay, iKaroo yindawo esithi xa sisiya emaXhoseni sifike igcwele ingca ephantsi, inemithi emifutshane.
<i>Okay, the Karoo is a place we pass when we go to the Eastern Cape which is full of short grass and trees.</i> |

- 59 Xa uhamba ngendlela uyadlula eKaroo
 When you go along the road you pass the
 Karoo.
- 60 Kushushu ke phaya, indlela inde
 It is hot there, the road is long
- 61 but there are sheep over there.
- 62 You find them sometimes lying, eating
 the shrubs and grass,...
 So when usinga eKaroo
 So when you are going to the Karoo
- 63 you must know that kulapho sifumana
 khona iigusha
 it is where we get sheep.
- 64 One other thing that we get from the
 sheep is wool.
- 65 The sheep is covered with wool.
- 66 Out of that wool we get different things...
- 67 Some people have mentioned...
- 68 When I was asking what they know about
 sheep.
- 69 We get slippers. We get (ii)-floor rugs,
 carpets.
- 70 We get jerseys,
- 71 we get isilamba (*lumber jacket*), iijakethi
 (jackets),... that fur.
- 72 Nikhe nisibone esaa silamba sam
 sibomvu?
 Have you ever seen my red jacket?
- 73 Learners Yes Miss.

The data in Extracts (E) and (F) indicate that long turns are appropriate in terms of talk exchange but they may lead to teacher-centred lessons in pedagogical terms. Furthermore, the language of instruction does not impact on the size of turns in classroom talk. In other words, turns in classroom interaction can be long or short, irrespective of the language of instruction. This implies that the use of the home language as a medium of instruction does not automatically translate to less teacher talk in classroom interaction.

Repetition

Repetition is also one of the common patterns of turn allocation in the two classes as reflected in Extracts (G) and (H). However, there is a difference in the manner in which repetition is conducted and managed in the two classes. For instance, in the English class, the teacher always repeats the learners' answers. This is an indirect way of confirming the correctness of the learners' responses, while at the same time consolidating the key concepts of the lesson.

On the other hand, the learners in the isiXhosa group are encouraged to repeat certain concepts in order to grasp them. The repeated concepts are usually in one-word format, and they do not actually display the learners' overall insight on the lesson content as learners are asked to repeat the same concept over and over. For example, the teacher started her turn in line 120 where she demonstrates the round shape. To check her learners' understanding, she asks a question in line 121 and she gets a correct response in 122. To emphasise the concept (round) she asks the same question five times (from lines 122-128) and the learners have to give the same answer five times as well. The repetition encourages a choral response from the learners as learners respond as a group, and it does not promote the flow of new ideas linked to the lesson, nor does it move the lesson forward. The turn is allocated in repetition fashion as the teacher exchanges talk with her learners but the notion of knowledge construction by learners at this stage of the lesson is questionable.

Extract (G) IsiXhosa Group

- | | | |
|-----|----------|--|
| 120 | Teacher | (showing a round shape with her fist).
Sithi kaloku into engqukuva yinto enje
(showing a round shape with her fist).
<i>We say a round thing is like this</i> |
| 121 | | Injani le nto ndiyibonisileyo?
<i>How is the thing I have showed?</i> |
| 122 | Learners | Ingqukuva
<i>It is round</i> |
| 123 | Teacher | Injani?
<i>It is round</i> |
| 124 | Learners | Ingqukuva |

125	Teacher	<i>It is round</i> Injani?
126	Learners	<i>It is round</i> Ingqukuva
127	Teacher	<i>It is round</i> Injani?
128	Learners	<i>It is round</i> Ingqukuva
129	Teacher	<i>It is round</i> Injani?
130	Learners	<i>It is round</i> Ingqukuva
131	Teacher	<i>It is round</i> Yintoni umzekelo wento engqukuva? <i>What is an example of a round thing?</i>
132	Zola	Ngamehlo enkomo <i>It is the cow's eyes</i>

In Extract (H) below, we see a different role with regard to repetition. The teacher repeats the learners' responses in order to accept the answers given or to confirm the answers as correct. The turns are given to several learners (see lines 95, 97, 99, 101, 103 and 105) and the transition is observed in line 102 where the teacher changes her initial question. She acknowledges the correctness of the learners' answers by repeating the answers and continues with another turn in line 104. The turns allocated to learners, however, are very short due to the kinds of questions asked by the teacher.

Extract (H) English Group

94	Teacher	Give me other examples of mammals that you know.
95	Sisa	Dog
96	Teacher	Dog
97	Vusi	Cow
98	Teacher	Cow
99	Zizipho	Sheep
100	Teacher	Sheep
101	Sisanda	Cat

102	Teacher	Cat. What do we call the father sheep?
103	Lucy	Ram
104	Teacher	Ram. Where do we get sheep?
105	Sabelo	Namibia
106	Teacher	Namibia

Extracts (G) and (H) indicate that repetition is common in the teaching-learning interaction, regardless of the medium of instruction. The manner in which it is conducted, however, differs according to different situations and the roles it plays in classroom interaction. For instance, it may be used for confirming learners' answers and emphasising certain lesson concepts. It usually leads to short turns by both the teacher and learners as shown in Extracts (G) and (H).

Discussion

Pedagogically, turn-allocation is one of the important aspects of classroom interaction in that it allows exchange of talk between the teacher and the learners and between the learners themselves. As an organised and sequenced process, it stimulates a logical and coherent talk which should make meaning to the participants (i.e. teachers and learners). It is relevant to the South African outcomes-based curriculum which encourages active participation of learners in the teaching-learning situation. However, the teacher's pedagogic style affects the extent and nature of learners' participation in the teaching-learning interaction (Hajer and Koole, 2008). In other words, the teaching styles may influence the turn allocation process in the classroom, which in turn affects the extent to which learners make meaning of the lesson content.

With regard to the kinds of turns allocated to learners in the two science lessons, there are three common phenomena that have emerged. Firstly, the language of instruction does not impact the kinds of turns that teachers allocate to learners. That is, teachers follow the same pattern in terms of the kinds of turns they give to their learners irrespective of the language of instruction. The most common kinds of turns allocated to learners include questions, individual turns and repetition. In both cases teachers initiate questions and learners take turns by responding to the teachers'

questions. There are no cases where learners initiate questions. Actually, the setting does not promote learners' initiative with regard to questions as teachers always take the floor, either by asking questions to which learners respond or by giving long explanations of the lesson content.

Secondly, the questions are not cognitively challenging and reinforce short answers from the learners. As a result, in both classes there is no exploratory or elaborative talk by the learners; instead, a teacher monologue prevails in both classes. This occurs as teachers give long explanations while learners remain passive, listening to the teachers' explanations. This situation leads to short turns by learners which limit the learners in terms of using the language for learning and in displaying their knowledge in elaborated form. The teachers' monologue creates a passive atmosphere which restricts learner participation in both lessons. As a result of the long turns taken by the teachers, the lessons become more teacher-centred than learner-centred. Teacher-centredness is one of the characteristics of traditional teaching approaches. This is an indication that both teachers follow traditional teaching practices.

Thirdly, learners get turns as they repeat certain lesson concepts. They exchange turns with the teachers as teachers either require learners to repeat certain answers to questions or the teachers themselves repeat the learners' responses. Educationally, repetition is one of the learning strategies. Its use, however, should be complemented with other interactive teaching strategies.

The pedagogical styles employed by the teachers can be explained in two ways: their beliefs and attitudes and the type of training they went through. It is a known phenomenon that teachers bring with them beliefs that influence the way they interact with their learners. For instance, if teachers believe that pupils learn better when they listen to the teacher talk, it influences their teaching methodology. Similarly, if they believe in interactive teaching, they tend to employ more interactive strategies in their teaching. This phenomenon links with the "transfer problem" which has to do with the way teachers' previous experiences and beliefs influence their teaching approaches (Korthagen and Kessels, 1999).

With regard to teacher development, many changes have taken place over the past fifteen years of democracy in South African

education. For example, the introduction of an outcomes-based curriculum implied new changes with regard to pedagogy, teacher identities and roles. The changes implied teacher development in order to facilitate effective implementation of the new curriculum in schools (Grosser and De Waal, 2008; Oswald and Swart, 2008). Efforts have and are still being made to acquaint teachers with the New Curriculum Statement (NCS) but the training does not focus on epistemological and pedagogical development in terms of conceptual knowledge, creative thinking and innovativeness. This is a gap that needs to be bridged in order to develop teachers who are more innovative and reflective in their practices.

In conclusion, there are more similarities than differences in the manner in which teachers allocate turns to learners in classes with different languages of instruction. The turn-allocation strategies do not promote active participation by learners in the two classes taught in English and isiXhosa. This implies that the language used for teaching and learning does not necessarily have an impact on the kind of turns allocated to learners in the classroom.

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The use of ICT in South African classrooms and the double literacy trap

Gréta Björk Guðmundsdóttir

Introduction

The global digital divide has often been connected to the gap between those having access to computers and the Internet and those who have not. The actual gap has narrowed with reference to the increasing number of computers and Internet connections worldwide. Yet the complexity surrounding access and appropriate understanding and use of information and communication technology (ICT) includes more than just material or physical access. Hence, the European Commission's (2002) claim that by simply clicking a mouse one becomes a participant in the information society is vastly simplifying the matter.

The data and analysis presented in this chapter will emphasise multilayered access to various resources that support educators and learners to use ICT to become participants in the information society. Considering the audience of this book, the primary focus will be on exploring access to digital resources and how language affects ICT use and skills of learners. Moreover, the link to the term digital literacy will be explored as it is viewed as essential for learners' and educators' use of ICT in a culturally sensitive way.

Background

Understanding access to ICT

The differentiated access found between groups, countries or continents has been characterised by the concept of a digital divide. There are competing definitions and understandings of the term digital divide but the classical use is to look at the number of computers or connectivity capabilities and connect it to socioeconomic status, class, education level, age or geographical location. Studies from the USA and the European Union point out that socioeconomic status or class plays an important role in computer access (Compaine, 2001; European Commission, 2002; Katz and Rice, 2002). Typically, these studies show that those with the least access are those that are, for example, uneducated, living in rural areas, belonging to minority groups, or elderly.

ICT in education is a relatively recent phenomenon in Africa despite the continued growth rate of the numbers of connectivity and access during the last few years (Etta and Elder, 2005; Internet World Statistics, 2009; Soltane et al., 2004; Toure, Tchombe and Karsenti, 2008). Viewing the digital divide from the aspect of connectivity, bandwidth or numbers of computers, however, only partially explains access. ICT in education cannot only be seen as a set of skills, but also encompasses increased awareness of opportunities, the knowledge of where to find relevant information and how to critically use and evaluate sources from the Internet and computers, and to reflect and tackle meaningful challenges in learners' everyday lives and communities. In addition to these opportunities and challenges, Keniston (2004) points out four dimensions of the digital divide which help understand the complexity of the concept. The first divide is to be found in every country between the rich and the poor, the educated and powerful and the uneducated and marginalised. The second is the linguistic and cultural divide. This divide is connected to the use of English, and the dominance of the English language and its connection to Anglo-Saxon culture. The third divide is a global divide between the North and the South or between the developed and the developing countries. Lastly, Keniston mentions the fourth divide as being the growing intra-

national digital elite called the *digerati*.¹

Van Dijk and Hacker (2003) use a slightly different approach to explain the digital divide and claim that access is based on four factors. These are *material access*, which refers to owning computers or having access to network connections; *mental access*, which includes motivation, experience and computer anxiety; *skills access*, which refers to digital competence, support and user friendliness; and finally there is *usage access*, which identifies opportunities to use ICT. Drenoyianni, Stergioulas and Dagiene (2008) and Czerniewicz and Brown (2005) similarly emphasise that the digital divide should be viewed as something more than just physical access, and should rather be determined from multi-faceted layers.

In addition to the understanding of access already presented, emphasis will be placed on the idea of access to different resources as defined by Warschauer in his writings on the digital divide (Warschauer 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004). His model of ICT access is based on research across the world and discusses the digital divide in terms of four access components. Warschauer's model is seen as particularly relevant for the data from South Africa due to its cultural and linguistic complexity. It emphasises both a nuanced view of the digital divide and addresses the language challenges in connection with technology, which are often disregarded. The four *access* components in Warschauer's model are: access to physical resources, access to digital resources, access to human resources and access to social resources. With this division, he puts an emphasis on the importance of not only having access to computers and Internet connection (physical resources), but also on relevant content in a familiar language (digital resources) and to be capable of using the resources by developing digital literacy and being well-trained (human resources). Finally, having social capital and adequate support from the community or the institution (social resources) is necessary in order to be able to provide sustainable and relevant use of ICT (Warschauer, 2004).

1 The word is combined from "digital" and "literati" and includes persons that are highly influential within the IT industry or online communities. It includes those with appropriate skills that are needed to promote ICT but are at the same time unrelated to traditional sources of high status in society.

Implementing ICT in schools

UNESCO (2002) has adapted a framework in order to explain ICT diffusion and development in schools (see Table 1).

Table 1
UNESCO continuum model of approaches to ICT development
in schools (adapted from UNESCO, 2002)

Emerging	Applying	Infusing	Transforming
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The model has been developed from international studies on ICT development and addresses the changed competencies that are required by educators and learners in schools (UNESCO, 2002). The first phase in the UNESCO model is the emerging approach. This applies to schools that are starting to use ICT and have had computers donated or have just started obtaining computers. Educators and administrators are in the beginning phase of using ICT and are working to connect it to the curriculum and to administrative tasks. The schools in the emerging phase are typically rooted in teacher-centred practices.

The emerging approach is followed by the *applying* approach. The applying approach refers to schools that have moved one step further. Educators are using ICT in their classes and ICT is becoming integrated into the curriculum. Moving further on the continuum, one reaches the *infusing* approach whereby ICT is embedded across the curriculum as well as in other areas within the school (administrative purposes, in laboratories, libraries etc.). Educators are using ICT to explore new ways to solve everyday problems and real world situations.

The last stage in ICT development and implementation is the *transforming* approach. The transforming approach is when ICT is completely integrated in all subjects and both learners and educators have transformed their teaching and learning and use ICT actively in all their work. These approaches can be used by both educational systems or individual schools to “pinpoint the approach that relates to the growth of ICT for their particular context” (UNESCO, 2002: 15).

Method

The data presented in this chapter was collected during six months of fieldwork in the Western Cape, South Africa, which built upon a pilot project one year earlier (Gudmundsdottir and Brock-Utne, forthcoming). The present study is based on a mixed-methods approach both in relation to data gathering and data analysis. This methodology emphasises multiple perspectives and a practice-orientated approach (Axinn and Pearce, 2006; Greene, 2007; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). The main focus in this chapter is, however, the qualitative data gathered through interviews with learners and educators.

Participants

Initially three schools were a part of the study. However, a fourth school was added in the final stages of the fieldwork in order to provide a control group for the questionnaire. The three focal schools of this study consist of disadvantaged learners.² These are Acadia, Eaglewood and Xolani primary schools while the fourth school; a historically white-only school, is Freewill.³ All four schools have recently implemented ICT for administrative as well as teaching and learning purposes.

Acadia, Eaglewood and Xolani are connected to the ICT initiative *Khanya*⁴ under the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) in South Africa while the fourth school, Freewill, implemented ICT without support from Khanya.

2 The term “disadvantaged learners” refers to the categories that were used during the apartheid period for non-white learners. During the apartheid rule, the disadvantaged learners were further distinguished into coloured, blacks and Asian/Indians (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). Even though many are reluctant to use these racial categories, they are still used in South Africa today. It should also be added that the choice to use the term disadvantaged instead of the commonly used “previously disadvantaged”, “so-called disadvantaged” or “non-white” for the group as a whole (coloured, blacks and Asians) is done on purpose, because their situation has been shown to be in general much worse than the situation for whites in South Africa (Roefs, 2006; Soudien, 2004; Stevens, Duncan and Bowman, 2006).

3 All names are pseudonyms.

4 Khanya is a Western Cape Education Department initiative. Its aim is to establish computer labs in all public schools in the Western Cape region by 2012. See further www.khanya.co.za

Materials and procedure

The seventh graders (N=212) in the three main schools were observed in classes conducted in the computer room. By the end of the fieldwork, all the seventh grade learners were asked to answer a questionnaire. The control school, Freewill, also had three out of four seventh grade classes answer the same questionnaire (N=77). The learners in Freewill were only observed in the computer room for a short period of time and no formal interviews were conducted with them or their educators/headmaster.

Interviews were conducted with a sample of learners (N=34), chosen randomly by the educators/headmasters, and the seventh grade educators (N=6) on ICT use in and out of the classroom. The headmasters in the three disadvantaged schools as well as several relevant informants for ICT integration were also interviewed. All the respondents have been given pseudonyms which are used in this chapter.

Even though the three disadvantaged schools shared some characteristics, all four schools in the study differed considerably in terms of size, school community and language background of the learners. This can be seen in Table 2, in addition to information on the language of learning and teaching as well as the home language of the learners.

Table 2
Overview of the schools (2007 data)⁵

School (No. of learners)	No. of G7 learners (No. of G7 classes)	No. of home language (HL) learners in G7	Language of learning and teaching (LoLT)	Annual school fees in Rands (Quintile ⁶)
Xolani (892)	87 (2)	isiXhosa (85) Other (2)	isiXhosa G1-3, English from G4	0 (3)
Acadia (926)	94 (3)	Afrikaans (46) English (35) isiXhosa (8) Other (5)	Parallel medium Afrikaans & English	460 (4)
Eaglewood (260)	31 (1)	isiXhosa (16) Afrikans (2) English (10) Other (3)	English	650 (5)
Freewill (699)	78 (4)	English (67) ⁷ Afrikaans (7) isiXhosa (6) Other (3)	English	7 000 (5)

5 The number of learners in Table 2 is the number of learners that answered the questionnaire. A few learners were missing on the days the questionnaire was completed in the four schools.

6 In South Africa, state subsidies to schools are regulated according to quintiles. There are quintiles one to five where those in quintile one are the poorest schools, generally located in highly rural areas, and schools in quintile five are the least poor often urban and predominantly white schools. During apartheid in South Africa, it was common to talk about schools according to the race of the students. Nowadays schools are, according to law, open to all races which make them more mixed than before. However, the schools are still geographically located in certain areas that are either coloured, white or in townships, where the majority of students are black. Presumably, the category becomes no longer based on race, but on class. However, the situation still resembles the previous apartheid race division. To avoid using racial categories it is, to a certain extent, easier to talk about the schools according to the quintiles they are placed in.

7 Five learners in Freewill answered that their home language was both English and Afrikaans. In the other three schools the learners did not answer that they had two languages as their home language. The questionnaire was perhaps not specific enough in specifying learners' need to report only their main language. It is however quite typical in South Africa for homes to use two or more languages.

In Xolani primary school, which is located in one of Cape Town's townships, all the learners are isiXhosa speakers except for two learners who speak another African language at home. The school community is placed in quintile three which makes it a non-fee school and the learners receive free meals at school. Acadia primary school was, until recently, an Afrikaans-only medium school, but due to pressure from parents to teach in English, the school is shifting to parallel medium instruction despite the fact that Afrikaans is the most common home language of the learners. In interviews with the learners, many confirmed that their parents were Afrikaans-speaking (home language), but used English when addressing them and their siblings. Acadia is a school in the eastern part of Cape Town and is placed in quintile four, even though the headmaster claims it should be placed in quintile three, similar to the other schools in the neighbourhood (Johan, personal communication, 12 May 2009, Acadia). Eaglewood is placed in one of the affluent suburbs of Cape Town, but serves children in neighbouring townships who are bussed to school every morning. Due to the school's geographical location, it is placed in quintile five which indicates that it is well-resourced which reduces the government subsidies. However, most families are poor and the school has, for example, always had a food scheme in order to feed the students⁸ and during winter break, learners were supplied with canned food. The food scheme is supported by the local community, not by the local government (Desmond, personal communication, 10 May 2009, Eaglewood). According to the headmaster of Eaglewood, the placement of the school in quintile five shows yet another form of discrimination of the children of the school (Desmond, personal communication, 10 May 2009, Eaglewood). Placing the school in a lower quintile would result in lower school fees for the families and, with greater subsidies from the government, the school would get opportunities to place resources differently. Freewill is the only school in the study that is a historically white school. It is placed in quintile five and its learners are, to a large extent, better off economically than the learners in the three other schools, which mainly serve black and coloured learners.

8 This is common in township schools. Schools that are placed in quintiles 1–3 get a food scheme sponsored by the local government in the Western Cape.

The three schools, Acadia, Eaglewood and Xolani, are a part of the provincial government initiative on ICT implementation called *Khanya* whereas Freewill is not. *Khanya* is a project run within the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) and it is responsible for establishing computer labs in all public schools in the province by 2012. The goal of the project is to assist schools in acquiring ICT for the purposes of curriculum delivery and bridge the digital divide by giving special attention to poor schools. As a consequence of being a part of the *Khanya* project, all the learners and educators in this study had some prior experience in the use of ICT in the classroom. This was considered particularly important due to the findings of a pilot study conducted in a school without such prior experience (see Gudmundsdottir and Brock-Utne, forthcoming)

Use of translation and interpreters

The research questionnaires were translated into the three main languages of the Western Cape – English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa – in order to allow learners to answer in the language of their choice. This was done to find out if the learners would choose to answer in their home language or if they would choose to answer in the language of learning and teaching at their school. In Acadia, eight of the learners answered that their home language was isiXhosa, but only two of them chose to answer the questionnaire in isiXhosa. Thirty learners in Acadia answered the questionnaire in Afrikaans, while 44 answered that their home language was Afrikaans. In Eaglewood, 16 of the learners had isiXhosa as their home language while only 2 of them responded to the questionnaire in isiXhosa. In Freewill there were 6 isiXhosa-speaking learners, all of whom answered the questionnaire in English. In Xolani, all the learners are African language speakers (85 out of 87 in isiXhosa) and all the learners chose to answer the questionnaire in isiXhosa. It is interesting to note that the learners in Xolani chose to respond in isiXhosa and not the language of instruction in the school, while most of the learners in the other schools answered in the language of instruction of the school. Having seen this, it is necessary to add that Xolani learners are supposed to get their education through the medium of English from Grade 4. During my observations, much of the teaching was conducted in isiXhosa or at least as a code switching

practice between English and isiXhosa in order for the learners to understand and follow the lessons. This may be one reason why the learners responded to the questionnaire in isiXhosa.

When discussing the issue of language choice with the educators in Freewill and Eaglewood, they argued that the influence of having had English as the language of instruction since Grade 1 was strong. This could have made the learners connect work done at school to English (including answering the questionnaire) rather than to their home language of isiXhosa. What further strengthens the influence of English on the learners in both Freewill and Eaglewood is that both schools were in predominantly English-speaking parts of town and not in the middle of townships, as Xolani.⁹

The issue of language also became quite apparent when conducting interviews with the learners. In Xolani both the learners and the educators had assured me that it would be *no problem* to conduct the interviews in English. After observations in the school for several months, I realised a need for an interpreter for the interview sessions in Xolani, despite the strong social desirability of the learners to be able to express themselves in English. All the interviews began in English and were concluded in isiXhosa. Given a choice, it was clear that they favoured answering in their home language instead of English. The same applied for the lessons observed in the computer room. During the first weeks of observation at Xolani, the teaching was conducted solely in English. After the first month however, the main educator of Grade 7 was used to my presence, and started code switching between isiXhosa and English in order to fully explain issues learners did not understand in English.

At Eaglewood and Acadia all the interviews were conducted in English without difficulties. Two of the learners in Acadia from the Afrikaans-speaking class used a few Afrikaans words during the interviews which I could understand and translate into English simultaneously and verify that I understood them correctly.

9 In the townships of Cape Town, isiXhosa is the dominant language in everyday activities and not English.

Findings

Whereas the core of this chapter focuses on access to digital and human resources, it is useful to identify some of the main differences in both access to physical resources and social resources as defined in Warschauer's studies. When looking at access in the four schools, one can see interesting differences at all levels.

Access to physical resources

When looking at the basic material access to computers and Internet connection, the study found that it varied in the four schools. Looking at the numbers of computers in relation to the number of learners in each school, the situation was that the learners in Xolani have the least material access. The classes are large in Xolani and the learners must share 24 computers in the computer lab which were not all functioning at times. In the computer room, two or three students sat together in front of each computer, shared the keyboard and the screen as well as one chair. Furthermore, what decreased the time the learners in Xolani had in the classroom was that the educators did not always use the computer room when they were assigned to it (according to the time table). The learners were supposed to have 30 minutes twice a week. Several times when I turned up to observe the seventh grade classes, the educators and the class were not there. When I asked why, the educators claimed that they had "forgotten" or that it "did not fit to the work of the day". Furthermore, referring to my field notes from observations in Xolani, the answers I received when informally discussing with educators were that, "everyone is motivated and enthusiastic about ICT" but when it came to using the computer room with their own class, the practice did not coincide with apparent positive motivation. The motivation aspect is a part of van Dijk and Hacker's (2003) model on the digital divide and, even though it is not directly discussed in Warschauer's model, it can be linked to the limited time the learners have to use computers (material resources), but also the lack of institutional support (social resources) or lack of qualified personnel (human resources). What further reduced the time the Xolani learners had in the computer room was when the educators divided the class so that each learner could have his or her own computer to work with. Hence half of the class was left in the

classroom to work and half of the class went to the computer room, and after 30 minutes the groups changed rooms.

In Acadia, the computer use at the school was more structured and I only once experienced that a class I was going to observe was not in the computer room. Otherwise, the educators came with their classes and used the computer room according to the timetable. Acadia had 25 computers and smaller classes than Xolani which made the computer-to-student ratio better. Acadia operated with a seven-day timetable,¹⁰ which only allowed learners 30 minutes computer time twice every seventh day. In both Eaglewood and Freewill, the computer use was well-adapted to the curriculum and the timetable. The learners each had access to a computer during classes and had one hour every week in the computer room. Additionally, the learners at Eaglewood could come during breaks and after school to work on their own interests or on homework. The computer teacher had also established a popular computer club for those learners who wanted to learn additional things on the computers as an after-school activity.

Comparing the physical access of the learners in the four different schools, the findings show that the computer-to-student ratio is highest in Eaglewood being 8.1 computers to every 100 students. This can be explained by the small size of the school and the Khanya policy of implementing one computer lab in each school despite its size. Consequently, small schools such as Eaglewood generally have better physical access within the Khanya project than the schools with double or triple the number of learners and only one computer lab. In Freewill the ratio is 5.3 computers to every 100 learners, whereas in Acadia it is 3.2 computers to every 100 learners and in Xolani it is 2.9 computers to every 100 learners.

An even greater difference in terms of physical access can be found when looking at computer access at home. Freewill learners have the best access to computers (83%) and Internet (70%) followed by

10 A seven-day school week was established because the learners often missed the same day every week due to different activities both during school hours and extra curricular activities. "Day one" in the week was thus not always Monday, but rotated from week to week. This seemed to function very well at the school even though for me to organise my observation and time at the school was difficult as the other schools all had a five-day schedule. The coordination of my time at Acadia therefore became a bit ad hoc whereas I was always in Eaglewood on Fridays and I was always in Xolani on Wednesdays.

the learners in Acadia (64% computers, 26% Internet). In Eaglewood and Xolani, relatively few of the learners have access at home (39% computers and 17% Internet in Eaglewood, and 13% computers and 5% Internet in Xolani). The home access to computers and Internet is strongly connected to the socioeconomic status, due to the costs of establishing landlines and high prices from Internet providers. The difference between home access of the learners according to different schools was significant, both for computer access ($\chi^2 = 90.6$, $p < 0.001$) and access to the Internet ($\chi^2 = 86.7$, $p < 0.001$).

Access to social resources

According to Khanya's fundamental goals, educators are intended to integrate ICT skills into all subjects, starting with literacy and numeracy (Khanya, 2009). The staff of the three Khanya schools had all undergone initial training sessions gaining the e-certificate from Khanya. These training sessions varied in length according to the needs of the educators, but all focused on basic skills in MS office programs such as Word, Excel and Power Point. There was not an emphasis on the pedagogical use or implementation of ICT in the classroom and how teaching practices and methods are affected due to ICT (Loveless and Dore, 2002; Loveless and Ellis, 2005; Somekh, 2007).

Access to social resources indicates institutional support and leadership. As a part of the Khanya network, the schools receive basic support and access to technological help. The headmasters in the three schools did, however, express their frustration with the response time of technical help and claimed that often they had to wait for a significant amount of time to get a person to the school for help. They had limited funds to order technical support from the private sector and there were also some restrictions as to whether or not it was allowed because the hardware is officially run by Khanya.

In every Khanya school there was also a computer committee which consisted of three educators who served as contact persons between the Khanya staff and the school. Those in the computer committee had a special LAN training [local area network] so that they could assist with basic installations and updates on the network in their school. The members of the committee were also

supposed to be support persons for other educators at their school, but the educators and members of the computer committee claimed they had limited time to fulfil the tasks. They also did not receive extra hours to work on this. One of the members of the computer committee in Acadia said: “We would train them, but it really takes time that we don’t have” (Pieter, interview, 18 May 2007, Acadia). The computer teacher in Eaglewood answered when asked how it was to get the educators to use the computer room: “I mean teachers are busy, and want to know how it [the computer] can make their lives easier. I think eventually it wasn’t like everybody in this school is computer literate... they are excited about the computer room... [silence]...they will come in and let their classes in, but they need a bit of encouragement, yes” (Sophia, interview, 22 May 2007, Eaglewood). In Eaglewood and, to a certain extent, also in Freewill the computer teacher in the school supported colleagues and assisted colleagues with different aspects of ICT use. The members of the computer committee in Acadia and Xolani offered ad hoc help to those educators who requested it, but clearly indicated that they did not have much time to help. When asked what was done when new teachers started, none of the schools had any formal plan or training for the newcomers in terms of how to use the computers with the learners.

Access to digital resources

When viewing the use of computers in the four schools with regard to access to digital resources in a familiar language, there are clear differences between the schools. Learners with English as their home language have a superior position as content on the Internet, the computer environment (platform) as well as the medium of instruction in schools is English. The learners in Acadia that followed the Afrikaans class had limited access to software in Afrikaans and many of them also mentioned the lack of online resources in Afrikaans. One of the Afrikaans-speaking learners argued that she would rather go to the library and find information in Afrikaans instead of searching online and getting information in English from the Internet. When asked if she would like more material in Afrikaans, she answered positively but added that most of the websites are in English, thus: “We must translate it to Afrikaans if

we must do work or a project...because that must be in Afrikaans, because we are in the Afrikaans class" (Christa, interview, 3 May 2007, Acadia).

The lessons in the computer room are similar to lessons in other subjects influenced by the availability of proper resources. Access to digital resources in a familiar language can be viewed as an imperative for learners' level of understanding in the computer room. Extensive research within the LOITASA project indicates a strong connection between home language as the language of instruction and learners' favourable learning process (Brock-Utne, Desai and Qorro, 2005, 2006). Similarly, when it comes to teaching a subject through ICT in addition to teaching in a foreign language (when the home language of the learners is not English) the learners face a double literacy challenge. This implies that learners may not fully comprehend the subject taught through English and thus meet additional challenges using computer platforms and software in English. During the observations it was clear that the learners did not only struggle with using the computers. They also struggled to follow instructions in English. An isiXhosa educator said: "Even in the computer room there are those who have used the computer, but some of them... most of them are struggling with the language" (Menzi, interview 16 May 2009, Xolani). As a consequence, the learners are struggling to understand instructions in English and follow the lessons. They are also losing the ability to write and develop their home language as exams and formal requirements need to be conducted in English. Furthermore, there are also demands to develop digital literacy and the use of ICT. In addition to struggling with the language of instruction, the learners lose the ability to develop the written form of their home language and they must become digitally literate through an unfamiliar language. As one of the learners said: "The more English that I learn the less Xhosa I know" (Onke, interview, 8 May 2007, Eaglewood).

The learners in Xolani are predominantly isiXhosa-speakers at home and were those that undoubtedly experienced the greatest difficulties in terms of language in the computer room. Menzi, a teacher in Xolani, states that everyone experiences difficulties with the language and it is a barrier to learning as the teachers need to

translate and the learners need to “catch up”¹¹ (Menzi, interview, 16 May 2009, Xolani). He argues that in the computer room the situation is worse: “We have to guide them and then to interpret the words for them. For example, you have to tell them ‘click on start’ but then they get stuck again. Because of the language they get stuck. The language is very problematic for our schools in general”¹² (Menzi, interview, 16 May 2009, Xolani). Another isiXhosa-speaking educator says: “...one of the problems is the language, the computer language is still new to the learners so they might find problems here and there” (Siphokazi, interview, 9 May 2007, Xolani). She continued by saying that code switching between isiXhosa and English is widely used at the school in order to explain the nature of assignments and the lessons. She states that the problems are tied to using a language other than the learners’ home language during the lessons, which makes the students become passive and the teaching less student-centred and more teacher-orientated. Siphokazi said: “So it is mostly the teachers that are talking, more than the learners because of the language. So it is problematic... and you will find out that most of the learners are illiterate as they try to only speak the language of the school [English], but at home they mostly speak isiXhosa or other African languages” (Siphokazi, interview, 9 May 2007, Xolani). This statement also coincided with the observations in the computer room that when speaking English, the learners became more passive and the teaching became rather teacher-centred instead of learner-centred.

In Eaglewood one of the educators, William, has experienced the benefits of being multi-lingual and being able to speak isiZulu and English. His mother tongue is English but growing up on a farm and teaching for decades in farm schools in Zululand enables him to both understand and speak isiZulu, which is close to isiXhosa, the language of the learners. He sees the clear benefits and admits that he code switches when needed: “If necessary I will be able to use a word from their language to unlock the meaning and once they understand they get excited” (William, interview, 22 May 2007,

11 In Xolani the students are taught in their mother tongue isiXhosa in the first three grades. However there is a shift to English in Grade 4.

12 By referring to “our” schools he is referring to the township schools or the schools for the disadvantaged learners.

Eaglewood). When asked whether it would benefit the learners to have more software and content in their mother tongue he agreed that it would be an absolute bonus for the learners and their learning. At Eaglewood there were also learners with an Afrikaans background. William continues: "A lot of the kids are confused by a lot of things they do not understand quite what I mean so if I have an equivalent word that I can use for them to understand better or an expression then I use it" (William, interview, 22 May 2007, Eaglewood). Similar to the township school Xolani, the teacher in Eaglewood also argues that he is code switching or code mixing in order to help learners understand the lessons.

At Acadia there are two Grade 7 classes taught through the medium of English and one Grade 7 class taught through the medium of Afrikaans. When I asked one of the teachers in Acadia (the teacher of the Afrikaans class) what he thought about more software and material in Afrikaans he was sure that the learners would gain enormously from it. He continued: "But if it is in English then the terminology is not the same. So it won't be beneficial to them, but they will be able to see and hear, but that is it... they won't be able to really use the computer" (Pieter, interview, 18 May 2007, Acadia). This indicates some difficulties as learners may become even more disadvantaged by only "seeing and hearing" and not being active in using computers for their own knowledge construction. One isiXhosa-speaking learner said: "I'm shy to speak English in front of other children, but I'm proud to speak English" (Gugu, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani) and Busi added that she was "scared to speak English in the class" (Busi, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani). Themba and Lizo, also learners in Xolani, said they were afraid that when speaking English they would say something wrong so that others would laugh at them (Themba and Lizo, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani). Hence it is important to give the learners the opportunity to learn English as a foreign language from English language educators, but not as a medium of instruction with educators whose proficiency in the English language is often poor.

In spite of the challenges the educators mentioned in relation to language, the learners were generally positive towards English and they all stated that they spoke and understood English fluently. The high status of English is apparent and is continually promoted

through teaching in English, which does not support African-language speakers in promoting their own languages. It also became apparent through the course of the interviews with the learners, and especially the isiXhosa learners, that they were encouraged to speak English. Zama, a learner in Xolani said: "The teacher tells us to speak more English than Xhosa so that we can get used to English" (Zama, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani). However, when the learners were asked if they would like to have more content and software in their home language, their answers varied. Many of the learners saw the importance of knowing English even though it was not their home language: "It is easy to speak isiXhosa but not when it comes to writing and reading it is difficult, so English is easier" (Zodwa, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani) and "English is important, because we communicate in English. I will choose the programmes in English because we learn it and what is needed at school we have to do it in English" (Ziyanda, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani). Others answered that it would be good for some of their classmates to have more content in their home language because "some children know other languages better, so English is difficult for them" (Sonja, interview, 8 May 2007, Eaglewood). An isiXhosa learner argued that the time it would take him to read in his home language would be much longer than when using English, the reason being that he was in an English-medium school, whereas Amanda said: "I would prefer isiXhosa because it is my language and I cannot speak English very well" (Amanda, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani). An Afrikaans-speaking learner replied when asked if she could find information in Afrikaans on the Internet that: "Most of the information is in English" (Estelle, interview, 18 May 2007, Acadia).

The answers often mirrored a strong belief in the empowerment and possibilities of the English language: "English is important, that we can communicate in English... When we are old and working we have to speak English when we are at work" (Ziyanda, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani). Zintle added: "If I had to choose the language to be used on the computer I would choose English because everything is written in English and we are advised to speak the English language" (Zintle, interview, 29 April 2007, Xolani). Even though this attitude towards the English language was considerably more visible from

the isiXhosa-speaking learners, Afrikaans-speaking learners are also influenced by the discourse surrounding the importance of English. One Afrikaans-speaking learner replied to the question whether he would like to have more software and content in Afrikaans: “No I would not like to have it in Afrikaans because we don’t understand the big words [long] in Afrikaans so it would be more difficult” (Lorna, interview, 18 May 2007, Acadia).

From these findings, one may argue that the status of English is strong. I would, however, like to claim that English and isiXhosa or Afrikaans are not mutually exclusive. There is no doubt that learning English as a foreign language and a special subject is particularly important in today’s global information society. Without emphasis on their home language in school, learners can however risk meeting a double literacy trap when they are expected to learn subjects and take on new skills through the medium of an unfamiliar language and move further away from their home language. Yet they have a clear interest in learning English and to fully master the use of ICT.

Access to human resources

The UNESCO model (Table 1) provides a framework for explaining implementation processes and ICT development and use in the classroom. Krumsvik (2008) argues for greater focus on the teachers and their role in the implementation process. In particular, he states that it is necessary to “establish a pedagogic framework and didactic content related to teachers’ practices in school if one wishes to incorporate this complex digital competence requirement in the digitised school” (Krumsvik, 2008: 284). By focusing on access to human resources, two main concepts will be highlighted: Teacher training and digital literacy.

There is little doubt that the discourse around digital literacy is closely connected to the digital divide. Debates around the meaning of digital literacy have flourished for the last ten years (Sefton-Green, Nixon and Erstad, 2009) and it is widely accepted that digital literacy is central for education in the information society. Connecting digital literacy with the digital divide has additionally proved to be particularly meaningful in a setting where access to resources is scarce, as seen in developing countries, in rural or peripheral

areas, and among minorities or disadvantaged groups. Prinsloo and Walton (2008) note that current literacy research has primarily been conducted among the privileged and, to an even lesser degree, on issues connected to the digital divide, different access, and practices related to new literacy tools. Warschauer (2003b, 2004) also argues that there are similarities between literacy on the one hand, and ICT access on the other hand. He connects literacy with ICT access and states that both literacy and digital literacy are to a great extent socially constructed and cannot only be viewed as a set of cognitive skills.

From the data, it can be argued that a significant factor for the digital divide in South African classrooms is the lack of in-service training opportunities for teachers in the pedagogical use of ICT. Teachers' digital literacy greatly varied in the three focal schools and both observations as well as interviews with educators support the fact that there is a strong link between the complexity in using ICT by learners and educators, and the adoption level of ICT in their schools. One can recognise a strong coherence between the level of ICT approaches according to the UNESCO model (Table 1) and, for example, the self-reported skills the learners claimed they had.¹³ One of the questions in the questionnaire asked: "Here is a list of things [14 in total] people sometimes do on a computer. Please tick off those [skills] that you already know how to do". Whereas the Freewill learners said they knew 9.1 out of 14, and the Eaglewood students had 7.7 skills, the learners in Acadia claimed they already knew how to use 5.8 of these skills and the Xolani learners claimed they knew 3.1 of the skills. Most of the learners knew how to write documents (use word processing), calculate on the computer, and find information on the Internet. Those skills that scored lowest were the more "creative" skills concerning blogging, creating slides, web pages, and programming.

The learners in Eaglewood and Freewill reported a wide range of skills whereas the learners in Acadia and Xolani indicated that

13 These 14 different skills were used as an indicator of digital literacy. Due to the fact that all the schools had already started to use ICT, they were not asked if they knew basic skills such as saving, opening documents, cutting and pasting. The skills rather indicated a more advanced use such as searching online for information, blogging, programming, using calculator, writing text, creating slides etc. (See further Guðmundsdóttir and Jakobsdóttir, 2009).

they had basic computer competence. This can partly be explained by the fact that in both Eaglewood and Freewill the learners had a special computer teacher responsible for teaching them in the computer room instead of their ordinary class teacher. In addition, the learners in Eaglewood and Freewill used the same language in the classes in the computer room as they used in the classroom. This absolutely reduced the risk for learners of being caught in a literacy trap between the medium of instruction and the language of teaching materials and content. However, these findings should by no means be interpreted as a sign of support for English as a medium of instruction. Rather, they should be viewed as a support for having the availability to use software and get content in the home language of the learners in order to support their adoption of ICT competence in a familiar language.

Several scholars have written about the importance of ICT in the home for the support of ICT use in school, and for learners to develop digital literacy (Facer, 2002; Selwyn, 1998). The Eaglewood learners together with the learners in Xolani had the least home access whereas the learners in Acadia had relatively good home access together with the learners in Freewill who had very good access at home. This can indicate that despite home access, it is rather the influence of the qualified educators that is significant for the development of digital literacy skills in terms of the schools which were a part of this study. Despite the fact that the majority of the Eaglewood learners did not have access at home, they became competent in using ICT in many different ways due to dedicated teachers and a supportive environment at school. At the same time, the Acadia learners who did not have a special computer educator, but had good access at home, scored lower when it came to the number of skills they reported. This can at least indicate that the use at home for the Acadia learners as well as the lack of use at home for the Eaglewood learners does *not* influence their ability to use the computers in an educational setting within the classroom. However, it should be noted that during the learner interviews, many of the learners claimed that the classmates that were the “*best in class*” in using computers were those having access at home. This supports the finding that home use increases general computer competence and skills, and that those learners not having access at home, such

as the majority of the respondents in this study, are more dependent upon well-qualified educators at school capable of using ICT with a didactical approach.

Conclusion

The use of ICT in South African classrooms varies greatly. This chapter has discussed some evidence indicating that learners who are learning through a language other than their home language are at risk of falling into a double literacy trap. In addition to being taught in an unfamiliar language, some of the learners in this study are additionally learning to adopt ICT skills in a foreign language as a means of improving their numeracy and literacy skills. Adding to the challenges is the fact that very limited content and educational software is available in their home languages.

The isiXhosa and Afrikaans learners, especially in Eaglewood are doing well using computers in different ways and are using various software despite the fact that they are taught in English from Grade 1 instead of in their home language. This does not translate into a solution for South Africa to use English as the medium of instruction from Grade 1. Rather, it indicates the importance of institutional leadership and well-qualified teachers who understand the benefits ICT can bring to disadvantaged learners. Most of the learners in the three focal schools as well as their educators are becoming acquainted with technology for the first time and the majority do not have out-of-school access. For educators this means that the time they have at school to increase their computer competence is also their time to become acquainted with the same technology they are teaching. Learners' and educators' limited access out-of-school does not provide them with adequate time to prepare for lessons or increase their proficiency and confidence level necessary to be able to use ICT in an effective way.

It is also evident from the interviews that the learners having access at home and those exposed to ICT outside of school experience some obvious benefits. Limited access at school and skilled educators is a challenge especially for those disadvantaged that need to count on the resources within school and do not have the opportunity or financial means to make use of other access alternatives. Training of educators can be considered to be central if the WCED, including

the Khanya initiative, are serious about making all of its learners and educators computer literate by the year 2012. Educators that have basic skills in MS Office are not necessarily capable of communicating to their learners' new didactical approaches and new learning experiences.

Finally, a much greater awareness is needed on the part that language plays when considering the digital divide and use of ICT in education. It is not enough to be able to "click a mouse" to be able to participate in the information society. ICT integration in school needs to take into consideration cultural and linguistic differences of users. Only by doing so can ICT become a beneficial and effective medium for learners in South Africa.

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A critical evaluation of textbooks used in teaching Standard 6 Mathematics, Kiswahili and English in selected Kiswahili- and English-medium primary schools in Tanzania

Martha A. S. Qorro

Introduction

One of the observations made during research conducted under the LOITASA Project Phase I was that private schools seemed to have more resources such as textbooks, supplementary readers and teacher motivation compared to government schools, which made the former perform better than the latter. Arising out of these observations, one of the objectives of the LOITASA Project Phase II was to determine the effects of improving the pupil-textbook ratio in selected government Kiswahili-Medium Primary Schools (KMPS) with regard to their pupils' academic performance as compared to the performance of pupils in private English-Medium Primary Schools (EMPS), which have almost a one-to-one pupil-textbook ratio. To implement this objective, one of the activities that LOITASA project Phase II embarked upon was to provide every pupil in each

of the selected government schools with one basic textbook and one supplementary book for each of the three subjects under study, namely: Mathematics, Kiswahili and English. In addition to providing textbooks to the selected schools, the LOITASA steering committee felt the need to evaluate the textbooks that the project provided to the schools to find out if they met the required standards. Previous studies on textbook evaluation in Tanzania (Dosi, 1983; Biswalo, 1987) were seen to have contributed towards improved quality of textbooks used in Tanzania primary schools; however, the textbooks evaluated then have since changed. This chapter is thus an attempt to critically evaluate Standard 6 basic textbooks used in the teaching of Mathematics, Kiswahili and English in the primary schools selected under Phase II of the LOITASA project. The chapter first presents the evaluation criteria used by the Educational Materials Approved Committee (EMAC), which is a body that approves textbooks for use in schools and teachers' colleges. Secondly, it gives the subject teachers' evaluation of the said textbooks, taking into account the criteria used by EMAC and the extent to which their evaluation corresponds to those criteria. The chapter also examines the extent to which the textbooks meet the pedagogical quality standards and the physical and design quality standards as the set criteria for approval of textbooks by EMAC.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were:

1. To find out the criteria used for approval of school textbooks;
2. To find out teachers' views on the evaluation of basic textbooks used in the teaching of Mathematics, Kiswahili and English for Standard 6 pupils in the selected primary schools in Tanzania;
3. To evaluate the selected textbooks in relation to the set criteria used for approval by EMAC.

To achieve these objectives, the researcher administered a questionnaire to teachers of Mathematics, Kiswahili and English in Standard 6 of the selected schools and held focused group

discussions with heads of school, heads of subject departments and subject teachers, as will be elaborated in the methodology section.

Methodology

The study started in January 2009 during which the researcher designed the questionnaire and prepared an observation schedule and questions to guide focused group discussion. Visits to the selected schools started in February 2009 during which time the questionnaire was administered and then classroom observations were held. The fieldwork for the study was first conducted in the selected primary schools in Dar es Salaam; and later in the primary schools in the Morogoro Region. All together seven textbooks that the LOITASA project had supplied to the public schools were evaluated in the study; they included two Mathematics textbooks, two Kiswahili textbooks and three English textbooks. A total of 29 out of a possible 42 questionnaires were completed (i.e. seven textbooks x three schools x two teachers per subject). The textbooks that are being evaluated in this study were supplied by the LOITASA project as core textbooks for Mathematics, Kiswahili and English for Standard 6. These core textbooks have been recommended by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training through an approval committee whose selection criteria will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Due to time and financial constraints, the researcher was able to conduct fieldwork in only three out of four selected schools. Two teachers (from each of the three primary schools) were asked to fill in a questionnaire for each book. The normal practice is one teacher per subject per class; however, since there were two books for Mathematics as well as for Kiswahili and three books for English, the researcher thought it necessary to get the views of the second teacher for each book. The head of department was requested to select the second teacher on the basis of having used the relevant textbook in the previous year(s).

Aims of selecting textbooks

Textbooks are normally selected after being evaluated according to their aims and whether those aims correspond to those of the teaching programme and the needs of the learners. Textbooks

that help teachers achieve the aims of the teaching programmes are normally selected because the aims determine the kind of textbooks that are suitable. Textbooks that do not achieve the aims of the programme will definitely not facilitate students' teaching or learning. Besides, textbooks need to correspond to students' needs; thus, student-centred textbooks are good for learning. Surprisingly, all the seven textbooks under evaluation are silent about their aims. There is no explanation whatsoever on what each one of them is meant to achieve, or what specific skills they intend to develop in pupils. Apart from the title which indicates that they are for primary school pupils at Standard 6 level, there is no section that explicitly states who they are meant for and what they are meant to achieve. Whether this is by coincidence or design is not immediately known. The researcher then followed it up with the textbook section of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to find out the criteria used to select these textbooks.

Evaluation Criteria by the Educational Materials Approval Committee (EMAC)

The Educational Materials Approval Committee (EMAC), which was established in 2005, is a committee that oversees the approval system of educational materials for use in schools and teachers' colleges. The Educational Circular No. 7 of December 2005 that established EMAC aims at strengthening educational materials approval procedures. The decision of EMAC on any work is based on the extent to which it adheres to the set criteria for approval. The criteria consist of two main standards: Pedagogical Quality Standards and Physical and Design Quality Standards, each of which will be elaborated below.

Pedagogical Quality Standards

These assess the extent to which the materials, in this case, textbooks submitted first, conform to the syllabus including the extent to which they cover the syllabus topic; the depth and breadth of concepts; their compatibility with general and specific goals of the Education and Training Policy; and the extent to which the textbooks match the education level of learners. Secondly, the organisation and presentation of content in terms of proper sequencing of content; plan of the content in relation to

a sound pedagogical approach (e.g. from simple to complex); and the use of various presentation techniques (e.g. exemplification, charts, graphs, statistics and maps). Thirdly, was the correctness of information, in terms of accuracy of facts and concepts; accuracy of figures; and completeness of concepts. Fourthly, conformity to the sociocultural values of Tanzania such as the extent to which the content respects the moral values of Tanzania; the extent to which the content shows tolerance to the different religious and political beliefs of Tanzania; and the extent to which the content shows love, respect and consideration of the country's security. Fifthly, the integration of life skills and cross-cutting issues, such as the extent to which the textbooks help learners to build positive life skills such as self-confidence, assertiveness and self-awareness; and the extent to which the textbooks inform the learner on HIV and AIDS, environmental issues, gender, disadvantaged groups, technology and human/children's rights.

Additionally, the textbooks' adaptability and applicability to a local and global setting, including the extent to which the textbooks inform the learner on global, technological, economical and political issues; the extent to which they inform the learner of current local and national issues; and the extent to which the knowledge the textbooks give is applicable in the learners' locality. Another Pedagogical Quality Standard is relevance to learners' age, needs and interests such as the extent to which the activities suggested in the textbooks relate to learners' age, needs and interests. Another standard is appropriateness of language and communication aspects, including the extent to which the level of difficulty of the language reflects the level of the learner; the extent to which concepts and facts are concise and to the point; proper introduction of new concepts; and the correctness of grammar and length and complexity of sentences.

Physical and design quality standards

Physical and Design Quality Standards assess, first, the type and quality of the cover and paper including the attractiveness of the cover; its water resistance; opacity of paper and paper weight. Secondly, the type and quality of binding including the type of binding in relation to number of pages; the strength of wire, thread

or gum; and the quality of wire (stainless). Thirdly, the size and dimension in relation to users' age and level. Additionally, the standards assess the quality of print in terms of legibility, i.e. quality of ink on paper including text and illustrations. Furthermore, the typeface and size of print in relation to users' age and level; as well as the anatomical structure of the submitted textbooks such as the presence of preliminary pages, balance of chapters and presence of end matter such as appendices, glossaries and indices.

It is on the basis of these standards that EMAC approved these textbooks and hence they have found their way into the government and private primary schools as basic textbooks or, in some cases, as supplementary readers.

Basic textbooks evaluated

Altogether seven textbooks were evaluated in the study and their titles are as shown below:

MATHEMATICS (HISABATI)

1. Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004). *Hisabati 6: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Ben and Company Ltd.
2. Okello, L. O and Fungo, T (2003). *Shule za Msingi Tanzania. Hisabati 6: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Macmillan and Aidan.

KISWAHILI

3. Masoud, A. J. (2002). *Kiswahili kwa Shule za Msingi Darasa la Sita: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Educational Books Publishers Ltd.
4. Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004). *Kiswahili Darasa la Sita: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Ben and Company Ltd.

ENGLISH

5. Edward, H. M. (2002). *English Course for Primary School: Pupil's Book 6*. Dar es Salaam: Educational Books Publishers Ltd.
6. Tanzania Institute of Education (2004). *Primary English Course: Pupil's Book 6*. Ben and Company Ltd.
7. Thompson, H.; Chuwa, O. and Mlay, S. (2003). *Primary English*

for Tanzania: Pupil's Book 6. Dar es Salaam: Macmillan and Aidan.

A critical evaluation of these textbooks was conducted with the help of teachers as detailed in the next section.

Teachers' evaluation of textbooks

Since teachers were the ones who used these textbooks, their views were elicited on how they evaluated the textbooks. The evaluation task was performed by filling in a questionnaire that was distributed to two teachers for every school and for each of the three subjects. Furthermore, teachers also gave additional comments during interviews and focused group discussions.

Questionnaire

At the initial stage of the study, a questionnaire was administered to teachers teaching Standard 6 pupils of the selected schools to find out how they evaluated these basic textbooks. Altogether 29 teachers, out of a possible 42 teaching the said subjects in Standard 6 of the selected schools, completed the questionnaire. Thus teachers' views obtained through the questionnaire, along with additional comments they provided on each of the seven textbooks are given below under the title of each textbook.

HISABATI (Mathematics)

1. Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004). *Hisabati 6: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Ben and Company Ltd.
 - a. The book is at the right level.
 - b. It links well with the one used in the previous year.
 - c. It is relevant to the Tanzanian context.
 - d. The topics need to be organised starting from simple to difficult ones.
 - e. Illustrations are not satisfactory, they do not match the times; they should use illustrations of various sports.

Teachers' additional comments on this book (*recorded verbatim*) were:

- Ziendane na mada nyepesi kuelekea ngumu (Should go with simple topics and move towards difficult ones)
 - Hakuna vielelezo (No illustrations)
 - Mifano iliyotolewa iambatanishwe na vielelezo vya picha na michoro mbali mbali ili kuvutia zaidi hisia za mwanafunzi na kujifunza (Examples provided should be accompanied by various illustrations and drawings/pictures to attract students' feelings for them to learn)
 - Vielelezo haviendani na wakati wa sasa. Napendekeza vielelezo vya michezo mbali mbali (Illustrations are not consistent with the times. I propose illustrations that use different games)
2. Okello, L. O. and Fungo, T. (2003). *Shule za Msingi Tanzania. Hisabati 6: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Macmillan and Aidan.
- a. The book is not at the right level for Standard 6 pupils.
 - b. It does not link well with the one used in the previous year.
 - c. It is relevant to the Tanzanian context.
 - d. The topics need to be organised.
 - e. Some of the examples are well explained while others are not. All examples should be clearly explained.
 - f. The illustrations are satisfactory.

Teachers' additional comments (*recorded verbatim*) were:

- Mada zimepangiliwa vizuri (Topics have been well organised)
- Mada zina mifano ya hesabu baadhi hazijafafanuliwa sana na baadhi mifano ipo wazi sana, naomba yote ifafanuliwe (Some topics have examples that are not well elaborated/illustrated while other examples are very clearly illustrated. I propose all examples should be elaborated).

KISWAHILI

3. Masoud, A. J. (2002). *Kiswahili kwa Shule za Msingi Darasa la Sita: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Educational Books Publishers Ltd.
- a. The book is at the right level of difficulty for Standard 6

- pupils.
- b. It links well with the one used in the previous year.
 - c. The book needs to have more stories.
 - d. It is relevant to the Tanzanian context.
 - e. The topics are well organised.
 - f. The illustrations are satisfactory.

Additional comments (*recorded verbatim*) were:

- Mada zipo katika mpangilio mzuri (Topics are well organised)
 - Kitabu hiki kinahitaji kuongezewa hadithi nyingi zaidi (This book needs to have more stories)
4. Taasisis ya Elimu Tanzania (2004). *Kiswahili Darasa la Sita: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Ben and Company Ltd.
- a. The book is at the right level of understanding for Standard 6 pupils.
 - b. It links well with the one used in the previous year.
 - c. The book needs to have more stories.
 - d. It is relevant to the Tanzanian context.
 - e. The topics are well organised.
 - f. The illustrations are not satisfactory; they need to be increased and made more interesting and should reflect reality and make pupils think and reflect.

Additional comments (*recorded verbatim*) were:

- Maswali yawe ya kutosha katika kila mada (There should be sufficient exercises for each topic)
- Mada zifafanuliwe vizuri, mfano: Aina za maneno (The topics should be further elaborated, for example 'Aina za maneno' [types of words])
- Mada zimepangiliwa vizuri (Topics have been well organised)
- Vielelezo viwe vya kutosha kwa kila sura kwenye kitabu (There should be enough illustrations for every topic/chapter in the book)
- Kitabu hakina picha za kutosha kuweza kumfikirisha mtoto

(The book does not have sufficient pictures to activate the child's thinking)

- Picha hazitoshelezi na zilizopo hazina uhalisia na mazingira (Pictures/illustrations are insufficient and the few available do not reflect the reality of the environment)
- Kitabu hiki kinahitaji kuongeza picha nyingi zaidi za kuwavutia wanafunzi (The need to have more pictures that attract students' attention)

ENGLISH

5. Edward, H. M. (2002). *English Course for Primary School: Pupil's Book 6*. Dar es Salaam: Educational Books Publishers Ltd.
 - a. It is at the right level of understanding for Standard 6 pupils.
 - b. The book has enough exercises.
 - c. It links well with the one used in the previous year.
 - d. It does not link well with the book used in the previous year (contradicts c.).
 - e. It is relevant to the Tanzanian context.
 - f. It is well organised.
 - g. It needs more cartoons and more attractive pictures to help pupils in dialogue.
 - h. Overall: the book is suitable for Standard 6.

Additional comments (*recorded verbatim*) were:

- Add more pictures.
 - Explain the vocabulary at the end of the textbook.
 - Add more cartoons and attractive pictures to help pupils in dialogue.
 - Use simple language since the new words are difficult for standard 6 pupils.
6. Tanzania Institute of Education (2004). *Primary English Course: Pupil's Book 6*. Dar es Salaam: Ben and Company Ltd.
 - a. The book is very well organised.
 - b. The exercises are very shallow.
 - c. It needs more pictures and more cartoons.

Additional comments (*recorded verbatim*) were:

- Exercises in this textbook are very shallow.
 - Mpangilio wa mada ni mzuri ila ziongezwe mazoezi (The organisation of topics is well done but add more exercises)
 - If possible, add cartoons and pictures
 - Vielelezo vionyeshwe kwa vibonzo (Illustrations should be done using cartoons)
7. Thompson, H.; Chuwa, O. and Mlay, S. (2003). *Primary English for Tanzania: Pupil's Book 6*. Dar es Salaam: Macmillan and Aidan.
- a. It is at the right level of understanding for Standard 6 pupils.
 - b. The new vocabulary listed at the end of the book is difficult for Standard 6 pupils; they should be explained using simple language.
 - c. It links well with the one used in the previous year.
 - d. It does not link well with the book used in the previous year (contradicts c.).
 - e. It is relevant to the Tanzanian context.
 - f. It is well organised, according to the syllabus.
 - g. It needs more cartoons and more attractive pictures to help pupils in dialogue.
 - h. The illustrations are sufficient and satisfactory (contradicts g.).

Additional comments (*recorded verbatim*) were:

- The book is well organised
- The topics are organised according to the syllabus

Reading through the teachers' views, one finds that some of the additional comments contradict what the teachers actually filled in the questionnaire. For example, in the questionnaire all teachers rated the *Primary English Course* by TIE as "very good"; however, in the comments some of the teachers said "the exercises in this textbook are very shallow" and that more exercises should be added.

Table 1 below summarises teachers' evaluation of the each of the selected textbooks for easy comparison.

Table 1
Assessment scores for natural sciences:
Life and Living April 2005: Grade 6

	Maths TIE	Maths Macmillan	Kiswahili Masoud	Kiswahili TIE	English Edward	English TIE	English Macmillan
Right level	√ √ √	√ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √
Links well	√ √ √	√ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √
Relevance	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √
Layout	√ √	√ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √	√ √	√ √ √
Illustrations	X	√ √ √	√ √	√	√ √	√ √	√ √

Table 1 shows teachers' evaluation of the seven basic textbooks in relation to whether they were at the right level of difficulty, linked well with textbooks in the previous year, were relevant to Tanzanian context, were well organised in terms of layout and whether they had illustrations and the extent to which those illustrations were well done. Deducing from the teachers' responses in Table 1, all the seven textbooks, except the mathematics book (*Hisabati 6 Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*) by Macmillan and Aidan were at the right level, linked well with the previous textbooks and were relevant to the Tanzanian context.

Focused group discussion

A focused group discussion revealed that each pupil had a copy of the books that the LOITASA project provided for the three subjects; however, for the other subjects, three to four pupils normally shared a textbook. Few supplementary books were available, especially in the government primary schools. Although some pupils bring personal copies of basic textbooks to school, they rarely bring along supplementary or class readers. This means that in the few cases

where parents buy books for their children, it is only the basic textbooks that they buy.

The selected textbooks were prescribed by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training who determined the quality of textbooks and whether they were suitable to meet the goals of teaching programmes and the syllabus generally.

On the issue of which textbooks were the most often used, teachers pointed out that for mathematics, the textbook by the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) was used more than the one published by Macmillan and Aidan because the TIE textbook has been referred to in the syllabus. The Macmillan and Aidan textbook is mostly used as a supplementary textbook. On the other hand, when it comes to Kiswahili textbooks, the Masoud textbook, *Kiswahili kwa Shule za Msingi*, is the one mostly used as the main textbook because it has more exercises compared to the TIE textbook, *Kiswahili kwa Darasa la 5 na 6*, which is used as the supplementary textbook.

In one of the English medium primary schools (Morogoro), the headmistress pointed out that Standard 6 pupils in her school have stopped using the textbook by H.M. Edward, *English Course for Primary Schools: Pupil's Book 6*, because the book was seen as being "below standard". When asked what that meant, she commented that the textbook was more suitable for Standard 5 pupils; and that was what it was currently being used for.

On the question of illustrations, most of the teachers were not satisfied, especially not with the Mathematics textbook, *Hisabati 6 Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi* by TIE. They pointed out that the textbook has no illustrations and that the examples provided should be accompanied by various illustrations, drawings and pictures that attract pupils' interest so that pupils learn with eagerness.

Researcher's evaluation of textbooks in relation to EMAC criteria

After having studied the evaluation by teachers, the researcher proceeded to examine each of the textbooks in relation to the criteria designed and provided by EMAC. The researcher's evaluation for each textbook is detailed in the next section.

Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004). *Hisabati 6: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Ben and Company Ltd.

As required by the EMAC Pedagogical Quality Standards, this textbook conforms to the syllabus in that it covers all the topics that are set in the syllabus. Its topics as well as concepts have been dealt with in depth and breadth by providing from two to five examples for each exercise and by giving revision exercises for almost all the topics in the book. Although the pupil's book does not give its objectives, most of what is planned to achieve by the book is said in the teacher's guide, which accompanies the textbook. These objectives are compatible with the general and specific goals of the Education and Training Policy. The book also matches the education level of Standard 6 pupils, this has also been confirmed through teachers' views.

Secondly, the presentation and organisation of content in this book is proper in that the sequence of topics follows a sound pedagogical approach by starting with simple topics such as whole numbers and proceeds to real numbers, fractions, and ends with more complex topics such as statistics and commercial mathematics. Teachers' views on this aspect differ slightly in that they recommend the reorganisation of topics from simple to difficult ones. However, looking at the table of contents and the general organisation of the book, I still believe the book is properly sequenced. Furthermore, on the presentation of topics, the book shows the use of various techniques such as exemplification, figures, charts and graphs. Thirdly, on the correctness of information provided in the book in terms of accuracy of facts and concepts, accuracy of figures and completeness of concepts, the book seems to do very well since no inaccuracies have been observed.

Fourthly, on the aspect of conformity to the sociocultural values of Tanzania, the book scores highly because it uses examples from different social, cultural, economic, and religious groups. For example it refers to gains made by villages, individuals or schools; it refers to transport costs by bus from one region or district to another within the country; it uses different names of people from different religions. Fifthly, on the aspect of integration of life skills and cross-cutting issues, these are difficult to assess and evaluate, except that the book refers to different kinds of occupations like farming,

fishing, driving, teaching, carpentry and such activities that are common among various Tanzanian communities. The mention of these occupations probably helps learners to build positive attitudes towards them. The book therefore scores well on this aspect. Within the same area, the book does not seem to mention HIV and AIDS or environmental issues. Since these are seen as important by EMAC, it is important that the textbook includes them in the next revision.

On the question of adaptability and applicability to local and global settings, one needs to make more careful consideration since local and global do not necessarily go together. It is clear that the textbook has local adaptability and applicability in the extent to which the knowledge the textbook gives is applicable in the learners' locality; however, as for the global aspect, one has to assume that what is meant is that the topics covered therein, such as whole numbers, real numbers, algebra, geometry and so forth, are adaptable and applicable globally. In that case then, the textbook scores highly on adaptability and applicability, both at the local and global level.

The other Pedagogical Quality Standard on which the textbook is being evaluated is relevance to learners' age, needs and interests. At this age, most learners would be involved in family business such as selling eggs, milk or vegetables, and as such, they would probably need business or commercial mathematics. Towards the end, this textbook contains a topic on business mathematics, however, it is very brief and scanty. Taking into account that these pupils are coming to the end of their primary education, after which close to 70% may not go for secondary education, a more detailed chapter on business mathematics than the existing one may be what these pupils need. The eighth Pedagogical Quality Standard is appropriateness of language and communication. On this criterion, the level of difficulty of the language used in the textbook does reflect the level of learners, the concepts and facts are concise, new concepts are properly introduced, the grammar is correct and sentence length and complexity are appropriate for the level of learners.

On the evaluation of Physical and Design Quality Standards, the *Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania* (2004) textbook has a good quality cover which is water resistant, a fairly good quality binding done with glue and the right size (not too large or too small) in relation to learners' age. Its print is legible and the illustrations (although very few) and

text are of good quality. The typeface and size of print is appropriate for learners' age and level. However, the anatomical structure, which includes the presence of preliminary pages, balance of chapters and presence of end matter such as appendices, glossaries and indices has shortfalls. For example, as pointed out earlier, the textbook does not state what it plans to achieve and for what level of learners, except for the number '6' on the cover, implying that it is meant for Standard 6. On the balance of chapters, a more detailed chapter on business mathematics would have been in order for these learners who are coming to the end of their primary circle of education. The other shortfall is that the end matter is completely lacking; a glossary of new mathematical terms would have been very helpful for learners of this level, especially for those who are trying to learn outside the formal school system with the aim of getting back to the mainstream schooling system. This takes us to the second mathematics textbook by Okello and Fungo (2003).

Okello, L. O. and Fungo, T. (2003). *Shule za Msingi Tanzania. Hisabati 6: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Macmillan and Aidan.

This textbook also conforms to the syllabus since it covers all the topics that the mathematics syllabus sets. Some of the topics and the concepts have, to some extent, been covered in depth and breadth. That is, the textbook has fewer examples and revision exercises compared to Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004). Some of the chapters and examples are better illustrated than others, a view that was also shared by the subject teachers. Similar to the Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004) textbook, this textbook does not say what its objectives are. In the case of the former, this information is given in the teacher's guide. However, the teacher's guide for Okello and Fungo (2003) was not available in the shops at the time of fieldwork. It is therefore important for pupils' books to be complete in themselves since the teacher's guide may not always be available to give the missing information. The topics covered in the textbook indicate that its objectives are compatible with the general and specific goals of the Education and Training Policy.

This textbook does not seem to match the education level of Standard 6 pupils well, a view that has also been confirmed by subject

teachers through the questionnaire and focused group discussion. It assumes a much higher level than Standard 6. A simple example is the way the first chapter is introduced. It goes straight to asking pupils to “read and write numbers to 10 000 000” with very scanty explanation. This becomes clear when compared to the Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004) textbook, which introduces the same topic with a revision exercise, then reminds pupils of what they did in Standard 5 and gives further examples on that, then it introduces the number 10 000 000. This also means that the textbook by Okello and Fungo (2003) does not link well with the one used in the previous year, a view that was also given by subject teachers.

On the second criterion, the presentation and organisation of chapters (content) in this book is appropriate in the sense that the sequence of topics follows a sound pedagogical approach by starting with topics that are simple and straightforward such as whole numbers and moving on to real numbers and fractions, and ending with more complex topics such as statistics and commercial mathematics. Teachers’ views on this aspect, however, vary in that some recommend the reorganisation of topics from simple to difficult ones, while others agree that the organisation is proper. Looking at the table of contents and the general organisation of the book, I agree with teachers who see it as properly sequenced. Additionally, on the presentation of topics, the book uses various techniques such as exemplification, figures, charts and graphs; this has been well done. On correctness of information provided in the textbook in terms of accuracy of facts and concepts, accuracy of figures and completeness of concepts, the books achieves all these very well.

The aspect of conformity to the sociocultural values of Tanzania has been addressed properly because the textbook uses examples from different social, cultural, economic, and religious communities. For example, it refers to gains made by villages, individuals or schools; it refers to transport costs by bus from one region or district to another within Tanzania; it uses different names of people from different religions. Some of the areas mentioned link to pupils’ geography or social studies lessons. This brings us to the fifth aspect which is the integration of life skills and cross-cutting issues, which on their own may be difficult to assess and evaluate. The textbook,

however, refers to different kinds of occupations like farming, fishing, driving, teaching, carpentry and such activities that are common among various Tanzanian communities. The mention of these occupations is likely to help learners build positive attitudes towards them. The book thus scores highly on this aspect. Within the same area, the book does not seem to mention HIV and AIDS or environmental issues. As said for the earlier textbook, since these are seen as important by EMAC, it is important that this textbook also includes the cross-cutting issues when preparing the next edition.

The criteria of adaptability and applicability to local and global settings need a careful examination, since local and global issues are not always compatible. However, the local aspect of the criteria is clear in that the textbook has local adaptability and applicability in the sense that the knowledge the textbook gives is applicable in the learners' locality. In fact, the same can be said for the global setting since the topics covered in the textbook such as whole numbers, real numbers, algebra, geometry and so forth, are assumed to be globally adaptable and applicable. In that case then, the textbook also scores highly on adaptability and applicability at both the local and global levels.

The other Pedagogical Quality Standard on which the textbook is being evaluated is relevance to learners' age, needs and interests. Most of the learners in Standard 6 would be involved in family business such as selling eggs, fruit, milk or vegetables; as such, they would need more business or commercial mathematics than is offered in the textbook. The topic on business mathematics is included towards the end of the textbook; however, it is very brief and scanty. Since these pupils are coming to the end of their primary education after which the majority of them are not likely to join secondary education, a more detailed chapter on business mathematics than the existing one will better meet these pupils' needs.

The last Pedagogical Quality Standard on EMAC criteria is appropriateness of language and communication. On this criterion, the level of difficulty of the language used in the textbook seem to reflect the level of learners. The concepts and facts are concise, new concepts are appropriately introduced, the grammar is correct and sentence length and complexity are of the right level for the learners.

On the evaluation of Physical and Design Quality Standards, the Okello and Fungo (2003) textbook has a good quality cover which is water resistant and a high quality binding of super glue. However, the textbook is rather too large in relation to learners' age. It is in fact the largest in the whole set of seven books. The print is legible and the illustrations are satisfactory and the text is of good quality. The typeface and size of print is appropriate for learners' age and level. However, the anatomical structure has a shortfall in that preliminary pages and end matter such as appendices, glossaries and indices have not been included. For example, apart from the number '6' on the cover implying that the textbook is meant for Standard 6, it is not clear who it is meant for and what it plans to achieve.

On the balance of chapters, as said in the case of the Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004) textbook, a more detailed chapter on business mathematics in the Okello and Fungo (2003) textbook would be more useful for these learners who are about to complete their primary education. The end matter, especially a glossary of new mathematical terms, would be very useful for learners of Standard 6, particularly for those who are studying outside the formal school system with the intention of sitting for the end of primary school examination in order to get back to the mainstream schooling system. The next textbook for evaluation is Masoud (2002).

Masoud, A. J. (2002). *Kiswahili kwa Shule za Msingi Darasa la Sita: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Educational Book Publishers

This textbook does not seem to conform to the syllabus since it does not cover most of the topics that the Kiswahili Syllabus for Primary Schools (2005) Standard 6 stipulates. It contains only three topics out of the eleven topics that the syllabus provides. In fact, it was published three years before the current syllabus; one wonders why it is still in use. Like the two textbooks evaluated thus far, this one does not say what its objectives are and neither does the teacher's guide. The author of this chapter believes that it is important for textbooks, like other books, to state what it is that they set out to achieve. This reflects a commitment that the authors make to their readers or clients.

This textbook contains reading comprehension topics and letter writing exercises built around different language structures. It also contains vocabulary building exercises. All these match the education level of Standard 6 pupils well, a view that is also shared by subject teachers. The textbook also links well with the one used in Standard 5, as pointed out by the subject teachers whose views were elicited in this study.

The textbook meets the second criterion, which is presentation and organisation of chapters in the sense that the sequence of topics follows a sound pedagogical approach by starting with topics that are simple and moving towards more complex and difficult ones. Teachers' views also agree on this point that the organisation is proper. On correctness of information provided in the textbook in terms of accuracy of facts and concepts and completeness of concepts, the book achieves all these very well.

The criterion of conformity to the sociocultural values of Tanzania has been addressed very well because the textbook uses examples from different social, cultural, economic, and religious communities. For example, it contains passages on the first day of the school year, various occupations found in Tanzania, job advertisements, road safety week and on a pupils' trip to the regional library. It also uses different names of people from different religions and names of geographical areas in the country.

The textbook also meets the criterion of integration of life skills and cross-cutting issues such as the environment and HIV/AIDS well, and thus scores highly in this aspect. On the criteria of adaptability and applicability to local and global settings, also taking into account what has been said for the textbooks already evaluated, one can safely say that this textbook meets both local and global adaptability and applicability in the sense that the knowledge the textbook gives is applicable in both contexts – local and global.

The other Pedagogical Quality Standard on which the textbook is being evaluated is relevance to learners' age, needs and interests. When evaluating the mathematics textbooks, I pointed out that most of the learners in Standard 6 would be involved in family business such as selling eggs, fruit, milk or vegetables; to that effect, this textbook has a topic on writing a 'letter for ordering goods'; this links the textbook well to the mathematics textbook . Since these

pupils are coming to the end of their primary education after which the majority of them are not likely to join secondary education, knowledge of how to write a letter to order goods is useful for their age, needs and level of education.

The textbook also meets the criteria of appropriateness of language and communication in that the level of difficulty of the language used in the textbook reflects the level of the learners. The concepts and facts are concise, while new concepts are appropriately introduced, the grammar is correct and sentence length and complexity are of the right level for the learners.

The Masoud (2002) textbook meets the criteria of Physical and Design Quality Standards in the sense that the textbook has a good quality cover which is water resistant, a high quality binding of super glue, legible print, and good quality text and illustrations. Moreover, the typeface and size of print is appropriate for learners' age and level. However, similar to the textbooks thus far evaluated in this study, the anatomical structure of this textbook lacks preliminary pages and the end matter such as appendices, glossaries and indices. These need to be addressed to meet the requirements of EMAC.

On the balance of chapters, the Masoud (2002) textbook needs more passages (also recommended by the subject teachers), particularly on the topics that are recommended in the syllabus. These include the use of action verbs in communication, the giving of information, self expression (public speaking) and writing and responding to invitations. On the missing end matter, I believe a glossary of new terms would be very useful for learners of Standard 6, in particular, those who are trying to study outside the formal school system who may need to get back to the mainstream schooling system. Otherwise this textbook needs to be revised or completely phased out in order to meet the requirements of the current Kiswahili syllabus. This takes us to the next textbook evaluation, Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004).

Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004). *Kiswahili Darasa la Sita: Kitabu cha Mwanafunzi*. Dar es Salaam: Ben and Company

Like the Kiswahili textbook that has just been evaluated (Masoud, 2002), this textbook does not seem to conform to the syllabus since it does not cover most of the topics that the Kiswahili Syllabus for

Primary Schools (2005) Standard 6 sets. Apart from comprehension passages, it does not contain any of the eleven topics that the syllabus provides. Like Masoud (2002), it was also published before the current syllabus was issued. In addition, like the three textbooks thus far evaluated, this one does not say what its objectives are. However, unlike the other textbooks, the teacher's guide for this textbook gives a detailed introduction on the objectives of the pupils' textbook and how those objectives are planned to be achieved.

This textbook mainly contains reading comprehension topics and exercises built around different language structures. It also contains vocabulary building exercises, silent reading, reading aloud, and composition and language practice. These exercises match the education level of Standard 6 pupils well, a view that is also expressed by subject teachers. The textbook also links well with the one used in Standard 5, a view also shared by the subject teachers.

The textbook also meets the second criterion, which is presentation and organisation of chapters, since the sequence of topics follows a sound pedagogical approach by starting with topics that are simple and moving towards more difficult ones. Subject teachers also expressed the same opinion that the topics are well organised. As for correctness of information provided in the textbook in terms of accuracy of facts and concepts and completeness of concepts, the textbook achieves all these very well.

The textbook addresses the criterion of conformity to the sociocultural values of Tanzania very well, as it uses examples from different social, cultural, economic, and religious communities. For example, it contains passages on taking care of geese, making charcoal, fishing, ploughing using a tractor and so forth. It also uses different names of people from different ethnic and religious groups as well as names of geographical areas of Tanzania.

The criterion of integration of life skills and cross-cutting issues such as the environment and HIV/AIDS are also well addressed in the textbook. For example, the textbook has a topic on "*Jikinga na UKIMWI*", i.e. "Protect yourself from HIV/AIDS". On the criteria of adaptability and applicability to local and global settings, the textbook meets both local and global adaptability and applicability in the sense that the knowledge the textbook gives is applicable in both local and global contexts.

One of the Pedagogical Quality Standards on which the textbook is being evaluated is its relevance to learners' age, needs and interests. The kind of stories contained in the comprehension passages may be of interest to learners. However, at their age, most learners would have heard or read these stories and the moral values intended. In that respect, the textbook meets the learners' needs. As for interests, it is doubtful whether learners would be interested in reading them. On the criteria of appropriateness of language and communication, the textbook also meets them well in the sense that the level of difficulty of the language used in the textbook reflects the level of learners. In addition, the concepts and facts are concise and new concepts are appropriately introduced. The grammar is correct and sentence length and complexity are of an appropriate level for the learners.

The Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania (2004) textbook meets the criteria of Physical and Design Quality Standards because it has a good quality cover which is water resistant, a high quality binding of super glue, legible print, and good quality text. Moreover, the typeface and size of print is appropriate for learners' age and level. However, the illustrations are sub-standard as most of them are not clear and sometimes too dark. Teachers' views confirm this point. Similar to the textbooks thus far evaluated in this study, the anatomical structure of this textbook does not have preliminary pages and the end matter such as appendices, glossaries and indices. These need to be addressed to meet the requirements of EMAC.

On the balance of chapters, this textbook needs more passages on topics that are recommended in the syllabus such as the use of action verbs in communication, the giving of information, self expression (public speaking) and writing and responding to invitations. On the missing end matter, I believe a glossary of new terms would be very useful for learners of Standard 6, in particular, those who are studying outside the formal school system and intend to get back to the mainstream schooling system. Having evaluated the mathematics and Kiswahili textbooks for Standard 6, we now turn to English textbooks starting with Edward (2002).

Edward, H. M. (2002). *English Course for Primary School: Pupil's Book 6*. Dar es Salaam: Educational Book Publishers

This textbook conforms to the syllabus since it covers all the topics that the English Language Syllabus sets for Standard 6. All the topics and concepts have been covered in depth and breadth. Teachers' views are that the textbook has enough exercises. The topics covered in the textbook indicate that the objectives of this textbook are compatible with the general and specific goals of the Education and Training Policy (1995). This textbook also matches the education level of Standard 6 pupils well. This view has also been expressed by the subject teachers through the questionnaire and focused group discussion. This also means that the textbook links well with the one used in the previous year, again, a view expressed by the subject teachers.

On the second criterion, which is the presentation and organisation of chapters (content), the textbook has an appropriate sequence in that the topics follow a sound pedagogical approach by starting with reading simple passages and moving on to dramatising dialogues and ending with writing an official letter and filling in an employment form. Teachers' views also confirm this by saying that the textbook is well organised. Additionally, on the presentation of topics, the book uses various techniques such as exemplification and illustrations using pictures. On the correctness of information provided in the textbook in terms of accuracy of facts and concepts, accuracy of grammar and completeness of concepts, the textbook achieves all these very well.

The criterion of conformity to the sociocultural values of Tanzania has been met adequately as the textbook uses examples from different social, cultural, economic, and religious communities. For example, its reading comprehension passages refer to various Tanzanian contexts; it uses different names of people from different religions; and it refers to different kinds of occupations like farming, fishing, driving, teaching, carpentry and such activities that are common among various Tanzanian communities. The textbook thus scores highly in this aspect. On the integration of life skills and cross-cutting issues, the textbook does not seem to mention HIV and AIDS but it addresses gender and environmental issues.

The criteria of adaptability and applicability to local and global

settings are also adequately addressed, since topics covered in the textbook, such as to express duration, concession, purpose, and quality; or to report past events and the like are assumed to be adaptable and applicable both locally and globally. In this case, the textbook does score highly on adaptability and applicability at both the local and the global levels.

The other Pedagogical Quality Standard on which the textbook is being evaluated is relevance to learners' age, needs and interests. Most of the learners in Standard 6 would need and would be interested in expressing duration, concession, purpose, and quality, or in reporting past events or habits, in writing letters, cards and filling in forms, all of which are adequately covered in the textbook. Since these pupils are coming to the end of their primary education, after which the majority may not join secondary education, this textbook should meet their needs and interests.

The last Pedagogical Quality Standard on EMAC criteria is appropriateness of language and communication. On this criterion, the level of difficulty of the language used in the textbook seem to reflect the level of learners. The concepts and facts are concise, new concepts are appropriately introduced, the grammar is correct and sentence length and complexity are of the right level for the learners. Thus, the textbook meets these criteria adequately.

On the evaluation of Physical and Design Quality Standards, this textbook has a good quality cover which is water resistant, and high quality binding. The textbook is of the right size in relation to learners' age. The print is legible, the text is of good quality and the illustrations are satisfactory. Teachers' views on illustrations are that the textbook "needs more cartoons and more attractive pictures to help pupils in dialogue". The typeface and size of print is appropriate for learners' age and level. However, the anatomical structure is lacking in preliminary pages and end matter such as appendices, glossaries and indices. The back of the cover page gives a summary of objectives and how the textbook plans to achieve them. On the whole, the textbook is suitable for Standard 6 pupils, a view also shared by the subject teachers.

On the balance of chapters, it was found that the chapters (topics) are adequate; however, it is proposed that the end matter, especially a glossary of new terms, needs to be included if and when the

textbook is revised. Such a glossary would be very useful for learners of Standard 6, particularly for those who are studying outside the formal school system with the aim of sitting for primary school examinations in order to get back to the mainstream schooling system. The next textbook to be evaluated is Tanzania Institute of Education (2004) *Primary English Course*.

Tanzania Institute of Education (2004). *Primary English Course: Pupil's Book 6*. Dar es Salaam: Ben and Company

This textbook conforms to the syllabus because it covers all the topics that the English Language Syllabus prescribes for Standard 6 although some of the topics and concepts have not been covered adequately. Teachers' views are that the exercises in the textbook are "very shallow", meaning that they lack depth. Similarly to the textbooks thus far evaluated, this textbook does not say what its objectives are. Since this is one of the EMAC requirements, it is important that textbooks state their objectives. The topics covered in the textbook indicate that the objectives of this textbook are compatible with the general and specific goals of the Education and Training Policy (1995). From what has been said on topic coverage and lack of depth, this textbook does not match the education level of Standard 6 pupils well. One head of school revealed that the school used this textbook for Standard 5, although this view was not expressed by the subject teachers.

On the second criterion, which is the presentation and organisation of topics, the textbook has appropriate sequence in that the topics follow a sound pedagogical approach. Teachers' views also confirm this by saying that the textbook is very well organised. However, teachers are of the view that the textbook needs more pictures and more cartoons. The textbook scores highly on correctness of information provided in terms of accuracy of facts and concepts, accuracy of grammar and completeness of concepts.

When it comes to conformity to the sociocultural values of Tanzania, the textbook meets these adequately because it uses examples from different social, cultural, economic, and religious communities. Its reading comprehension passages refer to different social settings in Tanzania; the passages and exercises use different names of people from different religions performing activities that

are common among various Tanzanian communities. The textbook therefore scores highly in this respect. However, on the integration of life skills and cross-cutting issues, the textbook does not seem to mention any of these.

The criteria of adaptability and applicability to local and global settings are adequately addressed since topics covered in the textbook, such as “Notes and Postcards, Road Safety, A Balanced Diet, The Shoes of a Happy Man” and the like are assumed to be adaptable and applicable both locally and globally. In this case, the textbook can be said to score highly on adaptability and applicability, both at the local and the global levels.

The next Pedagogical Quality Standard on which the textbook is being evaluated is relevance to learners’ age, needs and interests. Most of the learners in Standard 6 would need and would be interested in the topics covered in the textbook as stated above, all of which are covered in the textbook, although not with adequate depth. Since these pupils are coming to the end of their primary education, this textbook should meet their needs and interests.

The last Pedagogical Quality Standard on EMAC criteria is appropriateness of language and communication. On this criterion, the level of language difficulty reflects the level of learners of Standard 6. The concepts and facts are concise, new concepts are appropriately introduced, the grammar is correct and sentence length and complexity are of the right level for the learners. Thus, the textbook meets these criteria adequately.

On the evaluation of Physical and Design Quality Standards, this textbook has a good quality cover which is water resistant, and high quality binding. The textbook is of the right size in relation to learners’ age. The print is legible, the text is of good quality and the illustrations are satisfactory. Teachers’ views on illustrations are that the textbook “needs more pictures and more cartoons”. The typeface and size of print is appropriate for learners’ age and level. However, the anatomical structure lacks preliminary pages and end matter such as appendices, glossaries and indices. Since these are required by EMAC, they need to be included in the next edition.

On the balance of chapters, it was found that the chapters (topics) are adequate; however, it is proposed that the end matter, especially a glossary of new terms, needs to be included at the end

of the textbook. Such a glossary would be very useful for learners of Standard 6, particularly those who are studying outside the formal school system. Finally, the last textbook to be evaluated is Thompson, Chuwa and Mlay (2003).

Thompson, H.; Chuwa, O. and Mlay, S. (2003). *Primary English for Tanzania: Pupil's Book 6*. Dar es Salaam: Macmillan and Aidan.

This textbook conforms to the syllabus since it covers in depth and breadth all the topics that the English Language Syllabus sets for Standard 6. The topics covered in the textbook indicate that the objectives of this textbook are compatible with the general and specific goals of the Education and Training Policy (1995). This textbook also matches the education level of Standard 6 pupils well, a view that has also been expressed by the subject teachers through the questionnaire and focused group discussion. This also means that the textbook links well with the one used in the previous year, again, a view expressed by the subject teachers.

On the second criterion, which is the presentation and organisation of chapters, (in this case, units), the textbook has an appropriate sequence in that the topics follow a sound pedagogical approach. Teachers' views on this are that the textbook is "well organised according to the syllabus". Moreover, on the presentation of topics, the book uses various techniques such as exemplification and illustrations using pictures. On correctness of information provided in the textbook in terms of accuracy of facts and concepts, accuracy of grammar and completeness of concepts, the textbook achieves all these very well.

The criterion of conformity to the sociocultural values of Tanzania has been met adequately as the textbook uses examples from different social, cultural, economic, and religious communities in Tanzania; it refers to different kinds of professions such as being a doctor, teacher, secretary, pilot, politician, and the like. On the integration of life skills and cross-cutting issues, the textbook does not seem to mention them, meaning that these need to be included in the next edition to meet EMAC criteria.

The criteria of adaptability and applicability to local and global settings are also adequately addressed because topics covered in the textbook, are assumed to be adaptable and applicable both locally

and globally. In this case, the textbook scores highly on adaptability and applicability at both local and global levels.

The other Pedagogical Quality Standard on which the textbook is being evaluated is relevance to learners' age, needs and interests. Most of the learners in Standard 6 would need and would be interested in expressing duration, concession, purpose, and quality, or in reporting past events or habits, in writing letters, cards and filling in forms, all of which are adequately covered in the textbook. Since these pupils are coming to the end of their primary education, the need for the aforementioned skills is paramount.

The final Pedagogical Quality Standard on EMAC criteria is appropriateness of language and communication. The level of language difficulty found in this textbook seems to reflect the level of the learners. The concepts and facts are concise, new concepts are properly introduced, the grammar is correct and sentence length and complexity are of an appropriate level for the learners. Thus, the textbook meets these criteria adequately.

On the evaluation of Physical and Design Quality Standards, this textbook has a good quality cover which is water resistant, and high quality binding. It is of the right size in relation to the learners' age. The print is legible, the text is of good quality and the illustrations are satisfactory. Teachers' views on illustrations contradict one another; some say that the textbook needs more attractive pictures, while others say illustrations are sufficient and satisfactory. I agree with the latter group. The typeface and size of print is appropriate for learners' age and level. On the aspect of anatomical structure, the textbook is fairly adequate in that the back of the cover page gives a summary of objectives and how these are to be achieved. At the end of the textbook there is a glossary but some of the subject teachers commented that it is "difficult for Standard 6 pupils to understand and should be explained in simple language". On the balance of chapters (topics), the textbook has addressed this aspect adequately. Generally, this textbook is suitable for Standard 6 pupils, a view also shared by the subject teachers.

Conclusion and recommendations

This chapter has provided an evaluation of the seven textbooks that are being used by the primary schools selected under the

LOITASA Project Phase II. Among the activities that the research team thought were needed was to conduct a critical evaluation of the textbooks that the project had supplied to the selected schools. This evaluation was to be done in relation to EMAC requirements in terms of their aims for their being selected, appropriateness of their content in relation to the syllabus and learners' needs, organisation or design, appropriateness of the language used and their relevance to the Tanzanian context. Prior to the evaluation of the selected textbooks, teachers' views were sought using a questionnaire and focused group discussion to find out how they evaluated these basic textbooks that they used for teaching mathematics, Kiswahili and English.

The outcome of the evaluation exercise shows that some textbooks do not address topics that are prescribed by the syllabus, in particular, the Kiswahili textbooks, both of which were published before the new syllabus was put in place. It is therefore recommended in the study that the textbooks that do not meet syllabus or EMAC requirements should be reviewed or replaced accordingly by textbooks that meet the necessary criteria.

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What is the difference in achievement of learners in selected Kiswahili- and English-medium primary schools in Tanzania?

Jane Bakahwemama

Introduction

Various researchers verify that learners perform better in their studies when the language of instruction is familiar to both teachers and learners (Mazrui, 1997; Prah, 2003; Brock-Utne, 2006). In Tanzanian public primary schools, the language of instruction is not a problem because almost all public schools use Kiswahili as language of instruction, a language which is familiar to the majority of learners and teachers. Tanzania has managed successfully to extend the use of Kiswahili as the language of instruction up to the last grade of primary education since 1967 (Mbilinyi, 2000; Brock-Utne, 2006). From 1967, the government was responsible for providing primary education to all children.

Since the second half of the 1970s to date, there has been general dissatisfaction concerning the education standard of primary school leavers in Tanzania (Mosha, 1988, 1995a; Rubagumya, 2003). The implementation of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) unveiled problems in the provision of primary education. UPE led to an increase in pupils' enrolment while there were not enough

classrooms. Teaching materials and equipment were lacking. There were not enough teachers and funds to support the provision of primary education.

According to Rajani (2003), in 1980 gross enrolment rates reached 100%. Massive enrolment led to low standards of education, however, as it was impossible for teachers to provide special assistance to the neediest children. Hence, there was poor achievement among primary school graduates. For instance, two thirds of primary school leavers were unable to read and write well. They lacked basic numerical skills and 95% were unable to construct or speak one correct English sentence. Over 80% were not selected for secondary schools or any form of further education (Mosha, 1995). Lema et al. (2004) observed that in 1999, out of 38 pupils who completed primary school in public schools, only 6 pupils proceeded to secondary schools. Based on these observations, public primary schools are considered to be of low quality.

Private primary schools in Tanzania emerged as the results of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The Tanzanian government allowed the liberalisation of education to fulfil the conditions attached to the SAPs. The Education and Training Policy of 1995 opened all levels of education to private investors (URT, 1995). From that time there was a mushrooming in the number of private primary schools, especially in urban areas. Some parents opted to send their children to private primary schools due to their dissatisfaction with public education.

Private primary schools are considered to be of better quality. Mbilinyi (2000) argues that pupils' performance and achievement in general is good and that once children enrol, they improve their performance rapidly. Mbilinyi (2000) further states that the product of these schools can compete with their peers abroad. Moreover, there is a belief that private primary schools prepare their pupils to do well in the Primary Education Leaving Examination (PSLCE) (Galabawa and Lwaitama, 2008). One of the indicators that private primary schools prepare their pupils to do well is the number of pupils who pass PSLCE.

Objective of the study

The general objective of this study was to investigate the difference

in learners' achievement in English- and Kiswahili-medium primary schools and analyse the reasons for the difference.

The specific objectives were:

1. To find out the difference in learners' achievement based on three subjects namely mathematics, English and Kiswahili in the selected primary schools.
2. To investigate factors contributing to differences in learners' achievement.

Research questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the difference in learners' achievement between private (English) and public (Kiswahili) medium primary schools?
2. What are the factors that might be contributing to the difference in learners' achievement?

The state of primary education in Tanzania

This is the largest and most central component of basic education as it constitutes about 87.5% of enrolment of all levels of education (Mbelle, 2008). The overall framework governing delivery of primary education in Tanzania is currently provided by the 1995 Education and Training Policy (URT, 1995). Primary Education in Tanzania is universal and compulsory for all children from the age of seven years until they complete this cycle of education which comprises seven years of basic education. It begins with Standard 1 and ends after completion of Standard 7. Primary education is intended to equip children with permanent literacy and numeracy, basic life skills and values to enable them to function productively in the socioeconomic setting of Tanzania and pursue further education and training (URT, 1995).

Since independence till the mid-1990s, the provision of primary education was under government monopoly (Rugemalira, 2006). The Ministry of Education took the responsibility of admission of pupils, provision of equipment, syllabi and other materials and the employment of teachers. The situation changed soon after the

implementation of the Education and Training policy of 1995. The policy states that “the establishment, ownership and management of primary school shall be liberalized” (URT, 1995: 36). This was done to fulfill conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank through the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) of liberalisation and privatisation. The liberalisation of education resulted in a rapid expansion of English private primary schools, especially in urban areas. In the Dar es Salaam region for example, there are now 93 private primary schools (Mbelle, 2008). These schools are owned by private individuals and religious organisations. Private schools in Tanzania can be categorised into two groups namely international and non-international schools. International schools are those primary schools which do not follow the national curriculum. They have to satisfy a set of conditions to be recognised as international schools. Non-international schools are English medium primary schools which follow the national curriculum (Rugemalira, 2006).

Most private primary schools use English as medium of instruction. There are few private primary schools which use Kiswahili as medium of instruction.¹ Private primary schools charge very high fees which exclude the majority of children from enrolment. In 2005, public primary schools had an enrolment of 7 476 650 pupils which is equal to 99.1%, while private schools enrolled 64 554 (0.9%) (Mbelle, 2008). Privatisation of education has therefore led to the creation of a dualistic education system, one for the rich and one for the poor, with a middle education system of the best public schools² for the middle classes.

Recently, the government has implemented the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP). PEDP has four priorities namely enrolment expansion, quality improvement, capacity-building and optimising human, material and financial resources (URT, 2003). The main priority of PEDP has been to increase overall enrolment (Mbelle, 2008). In order to achieve PEDP priorities the government abolished school fees and other contributions. This resulted in an

1 According to Rugemalira (2006), by 2002 only three private primary schools were registered as Kiswahili-medium schools. These are Chimala (Mbalali: Church of Christ Mission, 1999) and Huruma (Mbinga: Roman Catholic Sisters, 1996). The third one is St. Therese Mbezi Luis in Dar es Salaam.

2 These are primary schools like Bunge, Oysterbay, Mlimani, Gliman Rutihinda Chang'ombe and Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

increase in enrolment rates. In 2004, the national Net Enrolment Rate had increased to 90.5% (Mbelle, 2008). This implies that many children are in school but the issue of quality education is still a problem. That is why those parents who are concerned about quality and who are well-off opt to enrol their children in private (English medium) primary schools.

Examinations as a way of assessing learning achievements

currently, the examinations in primary education are administered at two levels, at Grade 4 and at the end of the primary cycle at Grade 7. Both examinations aim at assessing pupils' acquisition of knowledge, abilities and skills in Mathematics, General Knowledge, and Languages (Kiswahili and English). The Grade 4 national examinations are administered to ensure that only those who have mastered reading, writing and numeracy skills are promoted to Grade 5. The Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination (PSLCE) results are used in the selection of a small number of pupils to join secondary education (Galabawa, 2002).

This procedure is concerned with the analysis of recorded and transcribed interaction. I will not discuss the choices involved in making audio or video recordings, or in transcribing these. For a CA perspective on these choices I refer to Have's (1999) introduction. I must, however, emphasise that the production of reliable transcripts is a necessary condition for analysis. The data analysed in this chapter were first transcribed at the University of Western Cape and partially retranscribed by students of Utrecht University. However, both these latter students and myself lack the knowledge of isiXhosa that is required to render the transcripts completely reliable.

The procedure is preceded by two preliminary questions: "What is analysis?" and "What is meaning?"

Theoretical and conceptual framework

Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) theory

The ESR policy was formulated by Nyerere in 1967 as a critique to colonial education. The colonial education discouraged integration of pupils into society. It promoted inequality, intellectual arrogance and individualism (Nyerere, 1968). The introduction of private

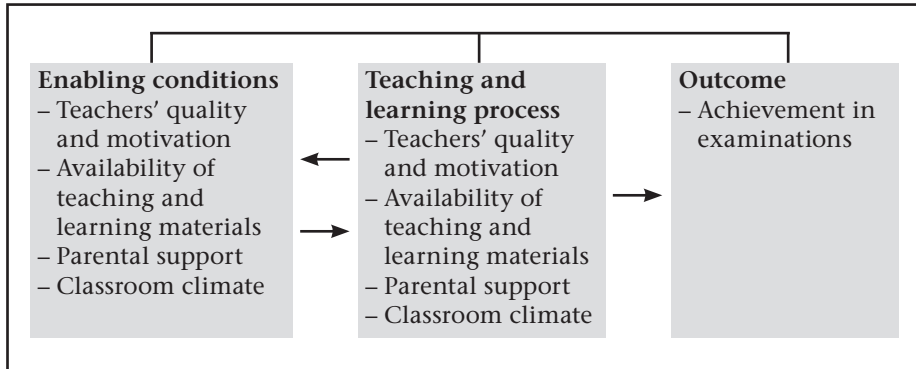
primary schools under the umbrella of neo-liberal policies has a similar impact to those of colonial education in Tanzania. Mbilinyi (2000) argues that privatisation in education has in fact created two contrasting school systems in Tanzania; one school system is for the few affluent and the other for the poor majority.

The emergence of private primary schools is reintroducing inequality and individualism in Tanzanian society, traits we fought to get rid of at independence. This is because private primary schools serve few pupils. They still account for less than 1% of primary school pupils (Rubagumya, 2003). The private schools are well resourced in both human and material resources. Meanwhile, conditions in the public schools have worsened in terms of teachers' salaries, which are low. The public schools also lack adequate textbooks and other teaching and learning materials and have large class sizes. Pupils' performance in examinations at Grade 7 is extremely poor. This shows that privatisation and liberalisation policies in education have created inequalities. This is against the principles of equity and justice promoted by Nyerere through the ESR policy. Classes have been created within the education system whereby there are schools for the rich (Private and mostly English-medium schools), and for the middle classes (the best public schools) and for the poor (the worst public schools). Parents from the middle classes are able to pay some contributions like transport and field trips costs and other resources to support the operation of schools.

The conceptual framework

The conceptual framework of this study was adopted from the idea of Sheikh (2006). He developed a model to analyse classroom education quality. He used the classroom as the main unit of analysis. I modified the model to suit the demand of this study. The conceptual framework was based on factors contributing to learners' achievements. It is divided into three main components namely enabling conditions, the teaching and learning process and the outcome. These three main components are further divided into sub-components as shown in the model below.

Figure 1
Conceptual framework for analysing factors contributing to learners' achievement



Enabling conditions

According to UNESCO (2005) the success of teaching and learning is mainly influenced by the resources which are available to support the process of teaching and learning. These include human and physical resources. In order to be able to do an effective and efficient job in relation to education, schools must have adequate, well-trained, motivated and committed teachers, appropriate textbooks and other learning materials, and the available classrooms. Parental support is also highly needed so that pupils can do better in their studies.

Teaching and learning process

The process is more concerned with what goes on in the classroom between teacher and pupils. An appropriate teaching and learning process is crucial to ensure active participation of the teachers and students in the classrooms. In this study, the teaching and learning process includes teaching methods, classroom interaction, language of instruction, classroom exercises, home assignments and feedback.

Intended outcomes/achievement

Learning outcomes refer to the expected results of any school. Learners' achievement refers to examination results and test performance. Through good academic achievement, primary school

pupils secure a place in secondary education. Apart from academic outcomes, learners are expected to have useful values, attitudes for work and the ability to serve as role models in society (Mosha, 1995). In this study, the outcomes were measured in terms of achievements in national examinations and tests administered for the sake of this study.

Research methodology

This study mainly employed a qualitative research approach. In some cases however, certain elements of the quantitative approach were used. I used a qualitative research approach because it uses more than one method of data collection such as interviews, observations, documents analysis and tests. This was used to strengthen the study by enhancing its validity. The data was collected over a period of five weeks during September and October 2008. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews, classroom observations and document analysis. The Kiswahili language was used during face to face interviews since it is a familiar language to both me and my respondents. This study was carried out in Dar es Salaam, focusing on two of the primary schools which are under the LOITASA project in Tanzania.

The study used purposive sampling techniques so as to include a sample from the selected primary schools under the LOITASA project. Cohen et al. (2000) note that purposive sampling is a technique which enables the researcher to pick the case to be included in the sample on the possession of particular characteristics being sought. Purposeful and criterion sampling techniques were used to select 2 head teachers, 6 subject teachers, 10 parents and 10 pupils who were interviewed. It also involved 102 pupils who did the tests which I administered for the sake of this study. Head teachers were selected on the basis of being the head of the selected primary schools. They are responsible for all activities which take place at schools. The subject teachers who were included in the study were those who are teaching Kiswahili, English and Mathematics. Subject teachers were involved in the study because they are responsible for teaching, giving exercises, tests and doing the marking. Pupils were involved in the study because it was important to have their feelings, opinions and interpretation regarding their academic achievement. Parents

were included in the study because they play a key role in pupils' performance at school.

Presentation and analysis of major findings

Differences in learners' achievement

In order to find out the difference in learners' achievement, document reviews were done. The document used was the Grade 4 national examination results. I administered tests in Kiswahili, English and Mathematics for the sake of this study. These tests aimed at assessing pupils' basic knowledge in arithmetic, reading and writing. The data from the field suggest that pupils in the private school performed better than pupils in the public school. However, in the Grade 4 national examinations in mathematics, public primary school pupils did better than private primary school pupils. Table 1 presents the percentage of pupils' achievement in mathematics, Kiswahili and English. The table shows that there are slight differences in learners' achievements in mathematics. For example, there is an approximately 2% difference for pupils who scored an A grade but the gap has increased in B grade which was scored by the majority of pupils in both schools. This grade clearly shows that pupils in the public school performed better than pupils in the private school. The data also show that 12% of pupils scored a D grade and 4% scored an F grade, which is failure. This is contrary to pupils in the public school where there was nobody who scored an F and few pupils scored a D. Generally pupils in the public school performed better in mathematics than pupils in the private school.

In Kiswahili, the data indicates that 100% of pupils in the private school scored an A, while 37.7% of pupils in the public school scored an A. This implies that the majority of pupils in the public school scored Bs and Cs. Although they passed the examination, their achievement is below that of pupils in the private school. In the case of English as a subject, the data shows that there was a great variation between the private and public primary schools. For example, the majority of pupils in the private school (48%) scored an A while in the public primary school, the majority of pupils scored Bs and Cs. There are only 2.6% who scored a D, which is a very marginal pass.

Table 1
Comparative achievement in Grade 4
national examinations

Type of school	Mathematics (%)					Kiswahili (%)			English (%)			
	A	B	C	D	F	A	B	C	A	B	C	D
Public school (N=77)	22.1	42.9	26.0	9.1	0.0	37.7	53.2	9.1	23.4	45.5	28.6	2.6
Private school (N=25)	24.0	36.0	24.0	12.0	4.0	100	0.0	0.0	48.0	32.0	20.0	0.0

Source: Grade 4 national examination results (2007)

In order to get more information about learners' achievement, I conducted a test in Mathematics, Kiswahili and English. A total of 77 pupils in the public school and 25 pupils in the private primary school took a test that was designed for the purpose of this research. Pupils in the public school were divided into two streams. Stream A had 39 pupils and B had 38 pupils. Pupils were asked to calculate simple mathematics so as to assess their basic mathematical skills. The test was administered in English for the private and in Kiswahili for the public primary school. Contrary to the findings from the national examinations results, test results indicated that pupils in the private school did well compared to pupils in public schools.

Table 2
Comparative achievement in Mathematics test

Name of schools	A	B	C	D	F	Total
A – public school	20 26.0%	25 32.5%	17 22.1%	11 14.3%	4 5.2%	77 100.0%
B – private school	8 32.0%	6 24.0%	9 36.0%	1 4.0%	1 4.0%	25 100.0%
Total	28 27.5%	31 30.4%	26 25.5%	12 11.8%	5 4.9%	102 100.0%

Source: Data from field (September–October 2008)

The data in table 2 show that the percentage (32%) of pupils who scored an A in the private school was bigger compared to the percentage (26%) of pupils who scored an A grade in the public school. The percentage (32.5%) of pupils who scored a B in public school is bigger than those in private school. In comparison, the private school did better than the public school because the percentage of pupils who scored D and F grades is lower than that of their counterpart. I can therefore conclude that private school pupils had better achievement compared to public school pupils on this specific test.

Table 3
Comparative achievement in Kiswahili test

Subject	School	A	B	C	D	F	Total
Kiswahili reading skills	A – public school	14	32	26	5	0	77
		18.2%	41.6%	33.8%	6.5%	0%	100%
	B – private school	14	7	4	0	0	25
		56.0%	28.0%	16.0%	0%	0%	100%
Kiswahili listening and writing skills	A – public school	15	30	26	5	1	77
		19.5%	39.0%	33.8%	6.5%	1.3%	100%
	B – private school	10	9	6	0	0	25
		40.0%	36.0%	24.0%	0%	0%	100%

Source: Data from the field (September–October 2008)

Table 3 shows that pupils in the private school scored grade A, B and C grades in both tests, while pupils in the public school scored A, B, C, D and F grades. These results imply that the private school pupils did better in the test as there was no single pupil who failed compared to those in the public school.

I administered an English test to pupils in both schools. The aims of administering tests was to assess pupils' reading, listening and writing skills. As I did in Kiswahili, the test comprised two short passages. The administration of the test followed the same procedures as it did in the Kiswahili subject. The findings indicated that pupils in the private school did well compared to pupils in the public school. Table 4 demonstrates the results.

Table 4
Comparative achievement in English test

Subject	School	A	B	C	D	F	Total
English reading skills	A – public school	10	15	38	6	8	77
		13.0%	19.5%	49.4%	7.8%	10.4%	100%
	B – private school	18	3	4	0	0	25
		72.0%	12.0%	16.0%	0%	0%	100%
English listening and writing skills	A – public school	0	12	48	7	10	77
		0%	15.6%	62.3%	9.1%	13.0%	100%
	B – private school	17	5	3	0	0	25
		68.0%	20.0%	12.0%	0%	0%	100%

Source: Data from the field (September–October 2008)

The data in Table 7 shows that there is a big difference in pupils' achievement in English as a subject. This is clearly shown in the percentage of pupils in each grade. The majority of pupils in the private school scored an A in both tests and there is no single pupil who failed. The majority of pupils in the public school scored a C and not a single pupil scored an A in dictation. The number of pupils who failed had increased in the English subject.

Based on these findings, I can safely conclude that the private school pupils did better than pupils in the public school. Overall, the majority of pupils in both schools had little problem reading in Kiswahili but the problem reading in English was serious, especially for pupils in the public school. For instance, the fluency was very poor for the majority of the pupils in the public school compared to pupils in the private school. The majority of pupils in the public school were not comfortable during the reading test. They were sweating, hesitating and repeating the same words several times. The same situation happened for relatively fewer pupils in the private school.

In the case of dictation, pupils in the private school had little problem as they made few errors in punctuation, spelling and the use of capital letters in both subjects. Pupils in the public school had, however, serious problems, particularly in English, as they made a lot of mistakes in spelling. Moreover, the majority of pupils were unable to write a coherent passage in English. The situation

was different in Kiswahili where pupils were at least able to write a coherent passage, though there were some errors, especially in punctuation and the use of capital letters.

To conclude this section, as far as I can comment, the superior performance of private primary schools is not due to the use of English as medium of instruction but there are other factors that contribute to these differences.

Factors contributing to the differences in learners' achievement

objective two of the study sought to explore factors contributing to the difference in learners' achievements. The factors leading to these differences could have different causes. The theme was further divided into other sub-themes such as teachers' quality, motivation and commitment, classroom climate, pedagogical expertise, teaching and learning materials, parental support and availability of learning materials at home.

Teachers' qualification and motivation

in any education system, teachers lay the foundation of education. They perform a significant role in knowledge and skills transmission (Mosha, 2000). Based on this fact, the teacher is still as important as ever. It was based on this premise that the study sought to examine teachers' qualifications and motivation. It was expected that good teachers qualification and motivation would lead to good performance, as is stated in the following quotation: "...factors that encounter for good performance were to have adequate and well trained and qualified teachers who are motivated to work hard..." (Mosha, 1988: 35).

The findings from the study revealed that two teachers in the public school were diploma holders and the other two had certificates. Thus, all teachers interviewed meet the requirements of teaching at this level. In the private school, three teachers had certificates in teaching but the head teacher was not a professional teacher. Teachers in the private school were, however, interviewed before being employed. This condition helped the private school to employ more competent teachers compared to the public school where teachers only had to attain a pass in grade IIIA i.e., attending

a two year teacher training course after graduating at “O” level. The above findings show that, teachers in the private school are likely to be more competent than teachers in the public school. This is due to the fact that teachers in the private school are employed after being interviewed to check their quality, while in the public school, the employments depend solely on paper qualification.

Apart from teachers’ qualifications, parents disclosed that teachers in the private school are committed to their work. The workload in private schools is big compared to that in public schools. Below is an explanation quoted from one parent:

... walimu wa shule binafsi wako makini na kazi yao. Wanafundisha vizuri ingawa wana vipindi vingi. ... Ni lazima wafundishe vizuri vinginevyo watafukuzwa kazi. Kwa upande wa walimu wa shule za serikali ... wao ni waajiriwa wa serikali hata wasipofundisha vizuri hakuna wa kuwagusa.

Author’s translation:

... private school teachers are very committed to their work. They teach well despite the fact that they have many lessons ... They must teach well otherwise they will lose their job. In the case of public schools ... they are government employees even if they do not teach well nobody can touch them.

The above statement shows that there is a difference between private and public school teachers in terms of their commitment and in the supervision by owners of the schools. Teachers’ quality and commitment appears to be the single most important factor that makes the success of private primary schools (Rugemalira, 2006).

Teachers’ motivation is considered to be one of the most important factors affecting the teaching and learning process. It is expected that through positive teachers’ motivation, learners’ performance can be improved. The findings of this study revealed that teachers in public schools lack motivation compared to teachers in private schools. The lack of motivation was explained in terms of low and irregular salary payment, lack of proper housing and transport allowance, the low status accorded to teachers and inadequate teaching facilities.

This was revealed in individual interviews with teachers in both schools and with the parents. Here is some evidence from one of the subject teachers in the public primary school:

Kwa kweli hali inasikitisha. Kwanza mshahara ni kidogo, haitoshi kwa matumizi hata ya wiki mbili. Tarehe ya mshahara haijulikani yaani hakuna tarehe maalum ya kulipwa. Kutokana na kipato kidogo tunapanga nyumba uswahilini. Nyumba zenyewe hazina hadhi na ndio maana tunadharauliwa. Ingekuwa vyema kama kila shule ingekuwa na nyumba za walimu.

Author's translation:

As a matter of fact, the situation is disappointing. First, the salary is low, it is not even enough to cater for two weeks' expenses. The date for payment is not exactly known. This means there is no specific date for payment. Due to low income, we rent houses in uswahilini.³ The houses have a low status. That is why we are looked down upon. It would be better if every school had its own houses for teachers.

The above statement shows that teachers, particularly those in public schools, lack motivation due to poor income which leads to teachers being accorded a low status compared to other professions. Contrary to the views above, teachers in the private school argued that although they are not satisfied with their salaries, they can manage to meet their basic needs from what they earn at school. One teacher explained:

Bwana wee! asikudanganye mtu! Motisha wa kufundisha unatokana na malipo mazuri. Sisemi kwamba naridhika na mshahara lakini angalau naweza kutimiza mahitaji yangu, kwa kipato ninachokipata hapa. Hapa shuleni hakuna likizo, sikukuu wala Jumamosi . Siku zote tunafanya kazi na tunalipwa. Mtu hawezi kuhangaika kutafuta njia mbadala, kazi zilizopo hapa zinatoshia.

³ A house situated in unplanned and low status areas in Tanzania cities or towns.

Author's translation:

My friend! Never be cheated! The motivation for teaching comes from good payment. I am not saying that I am satisfied with the salary I get but at least I can meet my daily expenses. Here in school there is no vacation, neither holidays nor Saturdays off. We work all days and we are paid. Nobody needs to seek alternative ways of earning here. There is enough work.

The above quotation suggests that to some extent, teachers in the private school have motivation to work hard. It seems that teachers' main concern is to increase their income, regardless of their workload. Based on this fact, teachers in private schools are definitely more motivated through good payment compared to teachers in public schools.

Classroom climate

A well-organised classroom is essential for learning. The classroom situation plays an important role in the teaching and learning process (Sheikh, 2006). Through observation, I found that there were several differences between private and public primary schools. In the public school, classrooms were large enough to accommodate the number of pupils in each class. There were, however, few desks and these were shared by two to four pupils per desk, according to the size of the desk. Desks were arranged in rows and it was difficult for pupils to sit in groups during the lessons. In the private school there were chairs and tables which were made in a semi-circular shape. Each pupil had a chair and a table. During lessons, it was easy to change the arrangement of the classroom. This eased the process of teaching and learning which resulted in good performance. However, in the private school, the classrooms were not in good condition in terms of ventilation.

In the case of class size, it was observed that the number of pupils in the public school was much higher than in the private school. The teacher-pupil ratio was 1:39 and 1:38 in stream A and B respectively, while in the private school, the ratio was 1:25. From this observation it is clear that the teacher-pupil ratio was larger in the public school compared to the private school. This, in one way or another, affects

teaching and learning processes. It affects teaching and learning in the sense that in the classroom, where the teacher-pupil ratio is large, it is harder for effective teaching and learning to take place. This observation was also affirmed through interviews with head teachers and subject teachers as one teacher in the public school said:

Kwa kweli ni vigumu kufundisha kwa ufanisi katika darasa lenye wanafunzi wengi, ingawa hapa shuleni kwetu hatujafikia idadi ya serikali yaani 1:45. Bado hatupati nafasi ya kumfikia mwanafunzi mmoja mmoja. Kwa mfano katika somo la Kiswahili mada ya kusoma kwa sauti ni vigumu kila mwanafunzi kupata nafasi ya kusoma kwa sauti katika kipindi cha dakika arobaini (40). Matokeo yake, wanafunzi hawajifunzi ipasavyo stadi ya kusoma.

Author's translation:

It is difficult to teach effectively in a class with many pupils, though in our school the teacher-pupil ratio is below that stipulated by the government which is 1:45. Still, we don't have a chance to be in contact with the individual pupil. For example, in a Kiswahili lesson, reading topics aloud, it is difficult to get a chance for every pupil to read the text out aloud within a 40 minute lesson. As a result, pupils are not acquiring reading skills effectively.

The above explanation implies that class size affects the learning and teaching process.

Teaching methods

Teaching methods encompass the mode by which teachers teach, prepare lesson plans and notes, adhere to their work plan and assign work to pupils. Classroom observations were conducted to observe the teaching and learning processes. Through observation, I noticed that teaching methods vary from teacher to teacher in both schools. The chalk and talk method was predominantly the means of instruction, especially in the public school. I also observed that no teachers in the public primary school came to class with a lesson plan or lesson notes, except for the mathematics teacher. The

situation was different in the private school where every teacher had a lesson plan and lesson notes.

Classroom interaction

Various scholars suggest that lively classroom interaction is very important in the process of teaching and learning (Freire, 1972). Classroom interaction enhances teaching and learning in the sense that teachers and learners share experience and new knowledge. I observed teachers' and pupils' interaction during lessons in both schools. In Kiswahili, the lesson was about reading in both schools. Pupils participated well. Almost all pupils were raising hands to construct sentences, though they had some problems in reading exercises, particularly pupils in the public school. In the private school, the teacher had teaching aids and used learner-centred methods. Pupils did their exercises in groups and they were given home assignments. The pupils' participation in this lesson conducted in Kiswahili was much higher than in other lessons.

The situation was different in English where the lessons were dominated by the teacher, especially in the public school. Pupils' participation was poor. Moreover, the teacher in the public school did not give the correct answer when the pupils gave the wrong answer. For example, the pupils were asked to mention types of invitation cards. One pupil said "best wishes card". The situation was different in the private school where the lessons were livelier and generated a lot of discussion between the teacher and pupils as well as between the pupils themselves.

In the case of mathematics, teachers in both schools had lesson notes. Teachers introduced the lessons by giving an explanation of the concept based on the topic. Then the teacher gave examples on the blackboard and some explanations on how to solve these questions. The teachers asked pupils to solve questions on the blackboard. Asking pupils to solve the questions on the blackboard is a sound pedagogical strategy, as it allows pupils to follow the process step by step, and it trains pupils to understand and make sense of the underlying processes. Compared to those in the private school, pupils in the public school were more active in responding to and posing questions to seek clarification when they were unable to follow. Sometimes the teacher in private school would opt to give

explanations in Kiswahili even though the language of instruction is English. Both pupils and the mathematics teacher in the private school went into Kiswahili to ease understanding.

From the above findings, it is clear that there was classroom interaction though there were variations across subjects. In some of the lessons I observed, teachers managed to promote pupils' participation, while in some other lessons, teachers were not successful. The factors that hinder the promotion of teachers' and pupils' interaction include among others, poor mastery of subject matter, lack of preparation on the part of teachers, and the language of instruction in the private school, especially in mathematics.

Classroom exercises, home assignments and feedback provision

regular provision of classroom exercises, home assignments and feedback are useful for assisting students to know areas in which they are weak or strong. Written work is also used as a means of consolidating students' knowledge. I examined the provision of exercises, home assignments and feedback given to the pupils. Doing exercises, completing home assignments and getting feedback in a proper way enhances learning and hence produces better achievements. The findings show that teachers in the public primary school gave exercises soon after ending the lesson. The exercises comprised not more than five questions. In the case of home assignments it was found that home assignments were given very rarely. This finding was explained as follows by one of subject teachers in the public school:

Mimi huwapa wanafunzi kazi ya nyumbani mara chache sana, kwa sababu wanafunzi hawana vitabu. Vitabu vilivyopo ni vichache hivyo hutumika wakiwa hapa shuleni tu.

Author's translation:

I rarely give home assignments to the pupils because pupils do not have textbooks. The available textbooks are few and they are used at school only.

The above findings show that there was a lack of exercises and home assignments in the public school. My findings further show that teachers in the public school did not check the exercises properly. The common way which was used to give feedback was writing the correct answers on the blackboard, while each pupil marked his/her own work. Sometimes pupils exchanged their exercise books so that one would not mark ones' own work. Sometimes teachers themselves marked the exercises and gave comments. I personally checked pupils' exercise books and observed the above findings.

In the private school, pupils were given exercises and home assignments every day. Pupils were also given weekly tests. The exercises and home assignments were marked by teachers themselves. There was close follow-up on exercises and home assignments. It is compulsory for every pupil to have a diary that parents sign after making sure that his/her child has done the exercises. Parents also check the exercise books to see if they are marked.

Availability of teaching and learning materials

Availability of teaching and learning materials facilitates the teaching and learning process. These materials include textbooks, teacher-guides, maps and other teaching aids. I found that the teaching materials were scarce in the public school. The situation was different in the private school where teaching materials were not a problem. Through observation, I noticed that the textbook-to-pupil ratio was 1:1 in the private school, as each pupil owned a textbook for each subject. There were sufficient textbooks in the private school though the school does not have enough books. Pupils were able to do their home assignments and other practices such as reading skills. With regard to teaching and learning materials, in the public school, the situation was not good. Textbooks were scarce and so were maps and teaching aids. Through observation, I noticed that there were 8 mathematics textbooks, 6 English textbooks and 8 Kiswahili textbooks. These textbooks were shared by 77 pupils. In a Kiswahili lesson, for example, pupils in groups of 3 to 8 were sharing one textbook. This affected the reading exercise as some pupils did not have access to the book. It is thus implied that pupils are not trained for life-long reading skills.

These observations were also supported by the head teacher and

subject teachers as reflected in the individual interviews. The head teacher had this to say:

Ndio! tatizo la vitabu lipo tena ni kubwa. Tunategemea ruzuku toka serikalini. Wakati mwingine pesa zinazotolewa ni kidogo hazikidhi mahitaji yetu ndio maana tunanunua vitabu vichache. Tunashukuru sana mradi huu wa LOITASA kwa kutupatia vitabu. Natumaini vikianza kutumika vitatusaidia sana.

Author's translation:

Yes! There is a textbook problem and the problem is huge. We depend sorely on subsidy from the government. Sometimes they provide a small amount which does not fulfill our needs. That is why we purchase few textbooks. We thank the LOITASA project for providing us with books. I hope that when we start using them they will help us a lot.

The above quotation implies that there was a shortage of textbooks. This situation hampers teaching and learning processes and hence results in poor learner achievement. In the Tanzanian context, the teaching and learning process is heavily dependent on textbooks. Textbooks are among the many teaching and learning resources that are vital to both teachers and pupils.

Availability of relevant textbooks enables effective instructional arrangements in classrooms, provides teachers with instructional support and students with reading resources. A shortage of books makes students too dependent on the teacher. Reading skills in public schools are frustrated because teachers keep the few available books in safe custody. This means that textbooks are used during classes only, thus minimising their use and availability to pupils. As a result, pupils' academic achievements are much jeopardised.

Private tuition

As I endeavor to explain the factors contributing to differences in learners' achievement in public and private primary schools, a matter I need to address here is the effect of private tuition on pupils' academic achievements. The findings from the study indicate that

both schools were engaged in conducting private tuition for their pupils. In the public school, tuition was provided to examination classes only while in the private school, tuition was conducted for all pupils, with an emphasis on the examination classes. Private tuition was conducted during the holidays, particularly (June–July) in the public school. In the case of the private school, tuition was conducted every day after classes, on Saturdays, on public holidays as well as during mid-term break and terminal break. All participants of this study agreed that private tuition enhanced learners' academic achievement. All participants agreed that tuition helps learners to improve their academic achievements. Apart from academic achievement, tuition also helps to increase teachers' earning. By earning more, teachers are motivated to work hard in their professions rather than opting to do other business which affects their efficiency at school.

Even though both schools conduct private tuition, there were variations in terms of duration of time. Tuition in the public school is conducted for two months only, particularly for examination classes (Grade 4 and seven). Since tuition is conducted for a short period, they cannot bring about enough impact. Tuition in the private school is conducted regularly. The impact on pupils' achievement is therefore likely to be higher. On the other hand, private tuition causes some problems, particularly with regard to coaching to pass examinations, rote learning and sometimes enhanced cases of examination leakage (Mosha, 2004). All in all the practices of tuition in Tanzania go against Nyerere's Education For self-Reliance philosophy. This is due to the fact that pupils are just made to memorise what they are taught. Such practices can never make a pupil self-reliant. In addition, tuition excludes the children of the poor because only the well-to-do can afford to pay for tuition.

Parental support and learning facilities at home

Parents have great influence on their child's learning. Their provision of materials and moral support enhances children's learning at school (Omari, 1995). Parents were asked to explain how they support their children to meet their educational needs to smooth their learning. The findings revealed that all parents whose children are in the private school and three parents whose children are in the public

school supported their children by providing learning materials, time to do school work at home with their assistance. This finding also indicates that apart from support from parents, siblings were also providing support. Moreover, two parents whose children are in the public school explained that their children depended solely on their siblings' support since they were very busy with work and often traveled. Their businesses affect their close follow-up of their children's school work.

Conclusion

The study has shown that the academic performance of pupils in the private primary school was generally better than of those in the public primary school. Though in the Grade 4 national examination, pupils in the public school's performance in mathematics was better than pupils in the private school. The high performance of pupils in the private primary school was associated with having qualified, committed and motivated teachers, adequate teaching and learning materials and other equipment. Other factors were small class sizes, provision of sufficient classroom exercises, home assignments and feedback as well as high learning time at school and in the form of private tuition. Thus, to have successful public primary schools, there is a need to improve teachers' working and living conditions and to provide adequate teaching and learning materials. These can help to improve teachers' motivation; teachers will work more effectively and efficiently and as a result, pupils' academic performance will be improved.

Recommendations

There is a need to conduct in-service training, seminars and workshops for public school teachers to strengthen their existing knowledge and skills. In the case of motivation, teachers' living conditions can be improved by increasing their salaries. Attention should also be paid to other fringe benefits. Furthermore, there should be regular communication between parents and teachers so as to monitor pupils' academic progress.

Since the study dealt with the difference in learners' achievements in three subjects only, I recommend further studies on other subjects such as history, civics, geography and science, to see what is going on in these subjects.

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What is the difference in the quality of education provided by government and private primary schools in Tanzania?

A comparative study

Julitha Cecilia John

Introduction

This chapter reports on the study from a government and a private primary school in Tanzania. The establishment of private primary schools (PPS) in Tanzania came after the introduction of liberalisation and privatisation policies. However, there has been a question about the differences in the quality of education provided by the PPS and Government primary schools (GPS). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate the differences in the quality of education provided in the GPS and PPS in Tanzania.

The study incorporated two primary schools; a private school with English as the language of instruction (LoI) and the second, a government primary school with Kiswahili as the LoI. A qualitative strategy with multiple data collection methods such as face-to-face interviews with a semi-structured form, participant observation,

and document analysis was employed. A total of 22 participants were involved in the study including 6 teachers, 6 parents and 10 students.

This study was conducted in conjunction with the ongoing LOITASA project which is now in its second phase. The first phase of the project ended in 2006, in which studies relating to the language of instruction and performance in secondary schools were conducted in Tanzanian secondary school classrooms with Kiswahili as LoI in some classes, while other classes were taught the same topic in English. The same was done in South African elementary schools in which some classes were taught in isiXhosa while others were taught in English. The results from this phase, and other studies, concluded that students perform better when they are taught in a familiar language; Kiswahili for Tanzania and isiXhosa for South Africa. It was suggested that there is a need to change the LoI. English should be replaced by Kiswahili in Tanzania and isiXhosa in South Africa (Brock-Utne 2000, 2006, 2007; Brock-Utne et al., 2003; Mwinshekhe 2001, 2003; Qorro, 2006; Vuzo, 2002), to mention but a few.

During the first phase of the project, four books were published in English and one booklet in Kiswahili as mentioned below:

- Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (2003).
- Researching the Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (2004).
- LOITASA Research in Progress (2005).
- Focus on fresh data on the language of instruction debate in Tanzania and South Africa (2006).
- Kurejea katika asili yetu (2005) by Kwesi Kwaa Prah (booklet).

Phase II seeks to establish the extent to which students in GPS may make significant improvements in their performance in the Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination (PSLCE), upon being assisted to fill the existing resource gaps in relation to the PPS. This phase has been in effect since mid-2008. In its initial stage, it has provided books recommended by the Tanzania Institute of Education to GPS in three subject areas; Kiswahili, English and mathematics.

Background to the study

The Tanzanian educational system is based on the philosophy of the late Mwalimu¹ Julius K. Nyerere as outlined in *Education for selfreliance* (Nyerere, 1968). It focused on the argument that primary education would probably be terminal for the majority of the population. Its curriculum, therefore, intended to equip primary school leavers with the skills required for self-reliant, rural livelihood, rather than for future academic education.

Secondary education was to be limited in quantity to produce enough graduates to fill the gap of the needed manpower of the formal sector and no more (Wedgwood, 2007). Following the self-reliance policy, Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy was brought into effect by the late-1970s. Its aim was to ensure that every child of school-going age would be registered in school. The policy became successful in the sense that there was a drastic increase in the number of pupils enrolled in school (Leshabari and Masesa, 2000).

Conversely, Wedgwood (2000) points out that the push for UPE was the major cause of the decline in the quality of education at all levels of education in Tanzania. She adds that UPE was associated with the low quality of education rather than with universal education. The reason behind this had to do with low transition rates caused by expansion of primary education without considering the secondary education sector. Malekela (2000) notes that in spite of low transition rates from primary to secondary, entrants to secondary education still had a very low level of competency in key skills (Malekela, 2000). It was also noted that the poor quality of primary education affects secondary, vocational, tertiary and higher education (Mosha, 2000). Mosha contends that poor higher education also affects lower level education, especially in terms of weak human resource inputs into low levels (Mosha, 2000).

To date, there is an outcry that the quality of education in Tanzanian government primary schools has declined and much has been said about this decline, even in the higher levels of education. The decline in the standard of primary school education is reported

¹ Mwalimu is a Kiswahili word referring to a teacher at any level of education. Nyerere was a teacher by training and regarded himself as a teacher. This is how people in Tanzania, past and present, regarded him.

to have begun in the 1960s (Mwampeta, 1978). Mwampeta further writes that the rate of education decline was amplified by the decentralisation of the government administration period which began in 1972. Other studies report inadequate teaching and learning conditions, increased pupil enrolments, low performance, shortage of facilities and teachers, and unfavourable working conditions, to mention but a few of the contributory factors in the decline in the quality of education (Chonjo, 1994; Leshabari and Masesa, 2000; Mahenge, 1985; Mosha, 1988).

Consequently, most parents lost faith in the GPS and in the value of sending their children there. Wedgwood (2007) writes that one symptom of parents' lack of faith in public schools' quality is the rise of the private tuition industry. This is an outcome of poorly paid teachers who feel that they needed to supplement their income with extra work. The rise of private tuition is the result of Tanzanian parents becoming dissatisfied with the quality of education offered by the government primary education system. They therefore prefer to send their children to PPS (Rubagumya, 2003).

These PPS came into establishment after the transformation of the 1995 Education Amendment Act into the new Education and Training Policy. As the Act states:

The establishment, management and ownership of primary schools shall be liberalized. (MoEC, 1995: 5)

Following the Act, individuals, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and private initiatives were allowed to invest in education. The PPS use English as the LoI, and this has attracted many parents to enrol their children in these schools (Rubagumya, 2003; Rugemalira, 2005). Parents believe that the quality of education in GPS is low and children cannot speak English well by the time they complete primary education (Senkoro, 2005). It is further believed that, English-medium primary school (PPS) pupils are better prepared to do well in the national primary school leaving certificate examination than Kiswahili-medium schools (GPS) (Galabawa and Lwaitama, 2008). The performance and product of PPS is considered to be of high quality as compared to the GPS in the extent that they can compete with their peers abroad (Mbilyini, 2000).

However, the parents argue that those pupils from GPS who make it to secondary schools find it difficult to follow the lessons, since the language of instruction used is English. Parents consider English language competency a measure of quality education (Neke, 2003; Senkoro, 2005). They further argue that despite mastery of curriculum content, the child must also master the English language and the best way to achieve that is through private primary schools which use English as the language of instruction (Rugemalira, 2005). Following the above descriptions, this study therefore seeks to investigate the differences in the quality of education provided by the PPS and GPS.

Research questions

To achieve the above, the following questions were fundamental to the investigation of the study:

- i. What is the difference in the quality of education provided by the PPS and GPS?
- ii. What role does the language of instruction play in providing quality education?
- iii. What are the criteria for determining quality education?
- iv. What are the factors to take into consideration when designing a given education programme as a quality programme?

Methodology

The study employed the qualitative research strategy in both collection and analysis of the findings. The qualitative strategy is inductive in the sense that a researcher develops concepts, insights and understanding from the patterns in the data rather than collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses or theories (Bryman, 2004; Silverman, 2001; Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). Furthermore, the strategy focuses on understanding the social reality naturally and how the social order is formed and organised. It is also suitable for getting peoples' insights about their world view (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Patton (2002) adds that qualitative research is a naturalistic inquiry in the sense that the researcher studies the real-world situations as they unfold naturally; it is non-manipulative and non-controlling and provides openness

to whatever emerges. The information gathered in this study is both descriptive and qualitative.

However, in order to increase the validity of the data collected, I decided to triangulate the data sources. I used interviews, observation and document analysis in the data collection. Patton (2002) asserts that, triangulation of qualitative data sources is done by comparing and cross-checking the consistency of information derived at different times, and by different means within the same study. Therefore, in this study, I compared observations and interview responses, and I also compared the interviews against documents to check if there was corroboration. These documents were lists of teachers and their qualifications, examination results and lists of the available resources in the schools.

Interviews

An interview is conversational, a basic mode of human interaction that researcher and interviewee use to communicate (Kvale, 1996). It is both structured and purposeful, involving careful questioning and listening with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge.

Therefore, in this study, face-to-face interviews with a semi-structured form of questions in order to get experiences, feelings, opinions, views and insights from students, teachers and parents about the differences in the quality of education in both private and government primary schools were employed. The semi-structured interview is the one in which the researcher has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often called an interview guide, but the interviewee still has a great deal of scope in how to respond. Furthermore, the questions may not follow exactly the same sequence as outlined in the schedule (Bryman, 2004). I therefore used open-ended questions with probes to explore thoughts concerning the PPS and GPS and the type of education offered by these educational institutions.

The structured interview was also used in this study. It involved asking respondents a series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories (Fontana and James, 1994). Bryman (2004) asserts that a structured interview entails the administration of an interview schedule by an interviewer aiming at giving all

interviewees exactly the same context of questioning. In this case, all the respondents received exactly the same interview stimulus.

Observation

The observation method was employed and both non-participant and participant observations were used in order to complement each other. According to Bryman (2004), a participant observer immerses himself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations and asking questions. As a participant observer, I immersed myself in the day-to-day activities of the school, while attempting to understand what happens in and outside the classroom. I conducted informal conversations and interacted with students and teachers. I attended the classes in which English, Kiswahili and mathematics lessons were taught. These subjects have been proposed by the LOITASA project and since my study is connected to the project, it was relevant for me to concentrate on these subjects. I also involved myself in the activities outside the classroom such as in the playgrounds to observe other informal practices. I made careful observations and wrote objective notes about what I saw, recording all accounts and observations as field notes in a field note-book.

Apart from being a participant observer I also acted as a non-participant observer. Non-participant observation is when the observer observes with minimum interaction and interference (Bryman, 2004). Therefore, as a non-participant observer, I would sit at the back of the classroom to avoid interfering and desensitising the students in the teaching and learning process. I observed the teaching methodology, use of language of instruction, student participation, and what was not happening (things which were in the timetable but never happened). Outside the classroom, I went around the school compound to see what facilities are available, the way it is organised, neighbourhoods and what happens during break times. I also observed the activities of the teachers in the staff rooms, especially what were they doing when they did not have lessons to teach.

Document analysis

In this study, I used official documents found in the respective schools to check the number of resources available and the examination results of the past two years. The resources included the buildings, human resources, furniture and instructional materials. I also used newspaper articles in order to get the public views on the question under study.

Research Findings

Perceptions on the quality of education

Teacher-student ratio

Quality of education was defined in different ways. Some saw the teacher-student ratio as the most important factor. They held that the larger the number of students in the class attended by one teacher, the lower the quality of education. Most respondents commented about the bigger classes in GPS. One parent said:

Kwa mtazamo wangu mimi ubora wa elimu unategemea darasani kuna wanafunzi wangapi wanaohudumiwa na mwalimu mmoja. Ukiangalia shule za msingi za serikali utashangaa sana mwalimu anawezaje kumudu idadi kubwa ya wanafunzi darasani; wako wengi, na pengine hata vitabu haviwatoshi. Ni vigumu sana kwa mwalimu kuweza kumhudumia kila mwanafunzi darasani. Matokeo yake anawapitia wachache na wengi wanaachwa, wale dhaifu ndio wanadidimia. Katika hali kama hii hata matokeo ya mtihani yatakuwa duni kwani walioelewa darasani ni wachache tu. Shule za watu binafsi angalau wanafunzi ni wachache japo pia ziko zenye wanafunzi wengi darasani mfano shule X.

Author's translation:

From my view, quality of education depends on the number of students available for one teacher in a classroom. Looking at GPS, you will be amazed as to how the teacher manages such a huge number of students in one class and sometimes the books are not enough. It is difficult for a teacher to interact with every student,

only few are attended to, the weak continue to lag behind. In this situation, the results will definitely be poor. Looking at PPS, at least there are few students although there are some which have many pupils in class like school X.

This situation was also reported by one teacher from Mivinjeni Primary School in Dar es Salaam who was interviewed by a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) correspondent who had this to say:

The children are attentive and eager to learn, but the size of the class is putting pressure on their teacher [...]. I feel tired every day – it's difficult monitoring 60 children at a time, she says. (Milton, 2005)

My observations in PPS revealed that the teacher-student ratio was 1:20 at maximum, whilst in the GPS the ratio ranged between 1:35 and 1:40. The crowding of primary school pupils in classes seen today in GPS came when Tanzania introduced the Primary Education Reform Programme in 2001, which became effective in 2002 operating through the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP). PEDP is an outcome of the efforts to translate Tanzania's Education and Training Policy and the goals of the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP), together with the international Education for All (EFA)² 2000 goals into feasible strategies and actions for the development of primary education (MoEC, 2001)

PEDP has shown a significant number of achievements such as repairing and building new classrooms, teachers' offices and houses as well as reintroducing free Universal Primary Education (UPE) for all (Mmbaga, 2002). UPE requires all school-age children to be enrolled in schools and no fees to be charged. Ultimately, this resulted in a massive influx of children in GPS, a situation that became unmanageable for the teachers.

Teaching must be designed to meet the needs of each individual child. Effective teaching can lift readers from struggle to success. The high teacher-student ratio observed in GPS, which is also

² EFA refers to an educational movement which took off at the World Conference on Education for All in 1990, Jomtien, Thailand. It was established to promote and monitor progress toward Education for All. It aimed at making sure that children, youth, and adults would benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs.

reported by MoEVT (2007) to be 1:53 in Tanzania, hinders the provision of quality education. The highly-populated GPS sends a signal that something needs to be done. The Government should think of regulating the number of pupils to a lower ratio which will be suitable for teachers and make the classroom manageable enough for effective teaching and learning to take place.

Inputs

The second perception related to the provision of quality of education to availability of facilities and resources (as inputs) in the schools. It was noted that GPS are poor in terms of material and human resources. The scarcity was evident in books, qualified teachers, desks, tables and chairs. One of the interviewees reported the following:

Mimi naona kwenye elimu bora ni pale ambapo kuna walimu wenye mafunzo ya kutosha, jinsi mwalimu anavyojiandaa kwenda kufundisha, muda unaotumika katika kazi za darasani, madarasa ya kutosha, mazingira bora ya darasani, madawati kwa wanafunzi, vitabu, zana za kufundishia, maktaba, vyoo kwa wanafunzi na viwanja vya michezo. Hivi vitu vimepungua au havipo katika shule za msingi za serikali haswa maeneo ya vijijini. Shule zilizoko mijini angalau vipo japo pia sio vyote.

Author's translation:

In order to attain good quality of education, there should be qualified teachers, teachers who prepare themselves well to teach, enough time spent in the classrooms working, enough classrooms conducive to learning, desks, books, teaching aids, a library, toilets and playing grounds. These things are either few or not available in GPS, especially those schools in the rural areas. As for schools in urban areas, at least some have some infrastructure, but not all.

Process

Another perception was that the quality of education is related to what exactly happens in the classroom between the teacher and the students. They mentioned the classroom interaction, LoI, teaching

strategies and resourcefulness of teachers and tests as factors which facilitate an effective teaching-learning process that leads to the provision of good quality education.

Product

The product of an education process was another definition of quality education put forward by the respondents. How much learning has taken place, the degree of mastery achieved by students, good examination results and ability to master lessons of the higher grades count for good quality of education provided in a school. Most of the respondents mentioned the higher performances of PPS in national examinations as compared to GPS.

Low quality of education in GPS

A belief that there is low quality of education in GPS and high quality of education in PPS was another observation put forward by all interviewees. Most parents lamented the status of GPS, that they have poor infrastructure and are in a bad condition. They further mentioned the lack of zeal to teach among the teachers in GPS, poor incentives and low motivation as well as a poor physical environment. This is because the government does not have enough funds to support and meet the demand of its schools. One parent had this to say:

Shule za msingi za serikali hazitoi elimu bora kwa sababu ni kama mali isiyo na mwenyewe na waliopo hawajali kabisa. Walimu hawana moyo wa kufanya kazi, serikali haiwathamini, wanalipwa mishahara midogo. Pia mazingira ya shule hayavutii wanafunzi kujifunza na madarasa hayahamasishi wanafunzi kujifunza na hadhi yake haivutii kabisa.

Author's translation:

GPS do not offer quality education because they belong to nobody and, teachers do not care much about them. Teachers are demoralised to work effectively due to the low salaries they get and the poor treatment they are getting from the government. Also, the school environment does not motivate students to learn, and the status of the classrooms is not attractive at all.

Here we see three things mentioned: ownership of the GPS, teachers' incentives, motivation, and the general school environment. Incentives, motivation and attitudes affect the process of knowledge transmission (Omari, 1995). From my experience and from observations during fieldwork, incentives that are given to GPS teachers in Tanzania are very low. A number of teachers were absent from school most of the time and absent from their classrooms even more frequently. It is a problem in a situation with very poor incentives to get teachers to show up at school. Incentives such as promotions, payment of salary arrears, verbal praise and allowances for outstanding performance are not available. Moreover, respect and recognition are not accorded to teachers, understanding of personal problems and demonstration of willingness to help in solving them is not available in the school community. In this respect, teachers feel that their plight is undermined and hence they perform poorly.

In contrast, PPS do provide incentives to the teachers and make them work hard. For example, during the visit to PPS, I found out that teachers were paid for teaching extra classes. These classes were for slow learners and new incoming pupils and they were conducted after school hours. In GPS there are slow learners but they are not given any extra classes because the school cannot afford them.

From the interviews, it is noted that teachers in GPS are less motivated, compared to those in PPS. For teachers to remain in the school and function productively and efficiently, they must be assured economically (Temu, 1995). GPS teachers are poorly paid as compared to their colleagues in PPS. The government's failure to pay a decent wage on schedule has made many teachers to rely on other sources of income such as private tutoring, which in turn diminishes the time they can devote to their students in the classroom and to lesson planning, marking and the multitude of tasks that make up a teacher's working life (Bennel and Mukyanuzi, 2005; Mosha, 2004; Temu, 1995).

Parental involvement in school matters

Of all the participants, 12 mentioned that parental involvement in school matters enhances provision of good quality of education. The teachers from both schools commented on the fact that cooperation between teachers and parents is necessary in order to have feedback on the type of education offered. Parents should participate in school matters by attending parents' meetings. GPS teachers complained that parents are not cooperative, while those in PPS were grateful that their relationship with parents is unproblematic, and that they communicate on a regular basis. Undoubtedly, the parent-child relationship was also noted as an important factor in enhancing the provision of good quality of education. It appears that parents with children in GPS do not follow up or ask their children about what happens in school. This was mentioned during an interview with one parent:

Unajua mchango wa wazazi katika kuleta maendeleo ya shule ni wa muhimu sana. Mzazi ndiye anayeweza kujua leo mwalimu kafundisha au la, kwa kuangalia madaftari ya mwanae, au kwa kumuuliza maswali. Ikiwa wazazi watafuatilia maendeleo ya watoto kwa ukaribu, itasaidia kuwafanya walimu wachape kazi haswa katika hizi shule zetu za serikali ambazo kwa kweli zina elimu ya kiwango cha chini. Walimu wanatakiwa kuwa karibu na wazazi na watoto wanaowafundisha ili jambo hili lifanikiwe.

Author's translation:

You know, the contribution of parents is very important for school development. Through regular checking of his child's exercise books or by asking questions, a parent is the first person to know if the teacher is teaching or not. Should parents closely follow up their children's progress, teachers will be forced to work hard, especially among GPS where the quality of education offered is surely low (he insisted). To facilitate this, teachers should be close to both students and their parents.

In relation to the above, the head teacher at GPS added that:

Hapa shuleni kwa kusema ukweli mwikio wa wazazi ni mdogo au tunaweza kusema kama hakuna. Utakuta unamtuma mtoto na barua ya kumuomba mzazi wake aje ili mzungumze juu ya maendeleo ya mtoto lakini utashangaa anakujibu [...]. "Sina muda" [...] bila hata kuonyesha matumaini kwamba atakuja siku fulani. Ukiitisha mikutano ya wazazi wanakuja wachahache mno. Wakati mwingine inakatisha tamaa!

Author's translation:

Honestly parents' response in this school is little. Sometimes it can happen that you send a letter to a parent through a child asking him/her to come so that you discuss matters pertaining to the development of his/her child, but in return you are told that [...]. "I do not have time" [...] with no hope that he might show up in the future. If you call a parents' meeting, very few parents will turn up. It is discouraging!

The two respondents have shown that there is a need for parents to participate in school matters, as it encourages the teachers and makes them feel that their position is valued and this will help them feel more committed.

Literature defines parental involvement in school matters as parents' commitment to the education of their children, and the role they play in school management (Mestry, 2004). Additionally, parental support is a necessary input to the school as well as a means of providing feedback to the education institution (Hsiao, 2007; Omari, 1995).

Parents with children in GPS are not as cooperative as those with children in PPS. This has made teachers in GPS feel that their work is undervalued and, whilst it was considered professional to be undeterred by parental attitudes, clearly relationships with the parents and even with the community do impact on teachers' morale (Barret, 2005). On the other hand, the relationship between teachers and parents in PPS looked to be unproblematic. Parents with children in PPS do communicate with teachers on a regular

basis through the student diary which they have to sign every day. Through this type of collaboration, parents become effective advocates of education.

The type of administration also determines the quality of education offered in a school

During an interview, one teacher from PPS remarked:

Kwa kweli kusema wapi kuna elimu bora au la inategemea na nani kiongozi. Kwa mfano sisi pale shuleni kwetu mwalimu mkuu ni kongozi mzuri sana ambaye huwa anajitahidi kufuatilia ufundishaji na kuhakikisha kila mtu anamaliza mtaala ndani ya mwaka na anatuhimiza na kututia moyo tufanye kazi. Amefanya watu waone ni mahali pazuri pa kufanya kazi na watu wanampenda na tunashirikiana wote kuleta maendeleo ya shule.

Author's translation:

Honestly speaking, where there is good quality of education, it depends on the existing administration. For example, where I work, our head teacher is a good person who motivates us to work, and follows up on how we work by making sure that each one of us completes the syllabus within a year. She has made the school a good place to work and enhances cooperation among us.

The head teacher from PPS had this to add:

Shule hii zamani ilikuwa inasifika sana na ilikuwa inafaulisha, kwasababu yule mwalimu mkuu alikuwa mzuri. Alipohama mwenye shule akamleta mtu mwingine ambaye alifanya wanafunzi wengi wahamie kwingine maana inasemekana uongozi wake haukupendwa na walimu wengi waliondoka. Shule ikapoteza umaarufu.

Halafu bwana nikwambie ukweli [...] hizi shule za binafsi pia ubora wa elimu unategemea sana mwenye shule anakaaaje na walimu wake. Akiweza kukaa nao muda mrefu na kuwawekea mazingira mazuri ya kazi, basi kwa vyovyote vile watafanya kazi nzuri [...].

Author's translation:

Previously, this school was popular and performed well in examinations because the head teacher was a good leader. After he left, the owner brought someone else who made most of the teachers and students leave to other schools because they did not like his leadership. This led to the school's deterioration and decline in popularity.

Also let me tell you...in these PPS, quality of education depends much on how the owner relates to his employees (teachers). If he manages to stay with them long and provides a peaceful working environment that is conducive to teaching, they would also definitely deliver the best.

The school administrator should be creative and able to coordinate workers to achieve the school objectives. PPS teachers complained about the treatment they get from the owner of the school while the GPS praised their head teacher for bringing them together and working as a team.

Most of the respondents had a number of examples based on their experiences with different school leaders. School leadership has a critical role to play in effecting an improvement in education (Temu, 1995). The school leader should be able to coordinate the work with confidence and establish a network in order to be able to accomplish the common goal. However, during one interview session, the head teacher in PPS remarked:

Mwenye shule hatujali na wala hakubali ushauri wa walimu kuhusu mambo ya taaluma kwa maendeleo ya shule. Yeye hufanya mambo yake anavyojisikia na ukijifanya unamkosoa ujue na kibarua ndio kimekwisha [...]. Sisi wengine tunafikiria kutafuta mahali pengine pa kwenda.

Author's translation:

The owner of this school neither cares nor accepts advice from teachers on academic matters. He does things the way he wishes, if you try to point out a weakness, that is the end of your job. Some of us are looking for somewhere else to go.

The owners of PPS feel that they know how to run schools and can decide whatever they wish simply because it is their property. This is wrong as nobody is perfect. Many people have complained about this tendency. In one of the newspapers called Tanzania Daima of 8 December 2007 it was noted that:

Walimu katika shule hizi wamekuwa kama kuku wa kienyeji wanaohamama kutoka shule moja kwenda nyingine. Wamiliki na wazazi hawajui kama hali hii inawaathiri watoto. (Stephen, 2007)

Author's translation:

Teachers in these PPS are like locally kept chicken who move from one school to another. The owners of these schools and parents do not know that this affects the pupils.

The tendency of having new teachers and firing others affects the students' progress as they are forced to study with new people with new styles of teaching from time to time. It should be noted that teachers' professional experience in an old school is not the same as in a new post (Gearard and Jee-Peng, 2001).

Ability to speak English as synonymous to being educated

Three respondents from PPS commented that a school that has high quality of education is one in which the students can converse in English. Most GPS students cannot speak English and this has caused the government schools to appear less capable of providing good quality of education. Most well-to-do and educated parents, despise the GPS and flock to PPS in search of good quality of education, which they measure in terms of mastery of English by their children. This was revealed during an interview when a parent from PPS said:

Elimu inayotolewa na shule za watu binafsi iko juu ukilinganisha na ile ya shule za msingi za serikali, kwa sababu wanafunzi wanaweza kuongea kwa kiingereza. Wale wa shule zetu hizi za kawaida hawajui hata kuunda sentensi unakuta mtoto anajikanyaga kwa kigugumizi. Hawajui kutamka maneno ya kiingereza vizuri, ukimwabia mtoto akusomee kifungu cha habari ni hatari kabisa. Hakuna chochote kule!

Author's translation:

PPS offer better education because students are able to communicate in English. Students in GPS cannot even construct a sentence, they stammer when asked. They cannot pronounce English words correctly. They cannot even read a paragraph when asked to do so. There is nothing in GPS!

According to the respondents' views on this theme, the quality of English spoken in GPS is poor as compared to that in PPS. This has devalued the GPS in terms of the quality of education offered, simply because children cannot communicate in English - not even in broken English.

People relate English to education, with the notion that no Education without English can be possible. English is not only a medium through which education can be accessed, it is equated with quality education itself. Furthermore, people believe that without English, the education offered cannot meet the international standards and forces of globalisation. To most parents, one sign of education is how well a student speaks the English language. They believe that once you master the language, you know everything, which is not true (Neke, 2003; Rubagumya, 2003; Senkoro, 2005).

People confuse quality of education with English proficiency and decide to take their children to PPS which use English as LoI. They would rather leave their children to be taught in broken and incomprehensible English. In the long run, children end up with the neither the ability to speak English, nor an education as the teachers in these schools are not very competent in the language themselves. The teachers in PPS have the same qualifications and have gone through the same Teacher Training Colleges as those in GPS.

Private primary schools are business orientated

PPS were mentioned to be businessorientated. Interviewed parents from both schools noted that some of the PPS are established as a means of earning money and not primarily because of the owner's interest in providing good education. Some of the owners of these schools are just laymen with no education. They run schools like

homes and not educational institutions. He continued by saying that he had a child in one of the schools, and the owner used to raise the fees every term with no visible reason. There were not any improvements or changes made to show that the money was used for something beneficial to the students.

Likewise, one teacher had this to say:

Siku hizi kila mtu anakimbilia kuanzisha shule maana anajua hatakosa wanafunzi. Lakini wakati mwingine unakuta mtu amekodisha nyumba na anaitumia kama chekechea au shule ya msingi pasipo kuzingatia masharti ya kumiliki na kuendesha shule. Wanawaza pesa tu bila kuwafikiria wale wanaozitoa. Pia unakuta wenye hizo shule hawana kisomo mradi tu kazifumania hela basi biashara ni kuanzisha shule bila kujali thamani ya elimu anayoitoa.

Author's translation:

Nowadays most people invest in schools because they are sure of getting pupils. Sometimes you find that a person is renting a house and uses it as a kindergarten or primary school without considering the requirements for school establishment. They focus on getting money without considering those who pay it. Some of these owners are not educated or have little education; it's only that they have money and therefore they jump into starting a school business without valuing the quality of education they offer.

Most respondents who gave similar comments to the above had a lot of examples to refer to, especially the parents. Apart from the interviewed respondents, the public has also shown concern about this as one of the newspapers called Tanzania Daima of 08 December 2007 reports:

Ndiyo maana shule hizi zimegeuka kuwa biashara badala ya kutimiza lengo lililokusudiwa la kusaidia serikali kutoa huduma hii [...] Wamiliki wanachofanya ni kuchuma hela. (Stephen, 2007)

Author's translation:

No wonder these schools have become businesses investments instead of assisting the government in the provision of education [...]. What the owners of these schools do is just minting of money.

Additionally, another article from the *Daily News* of 5 June 2008 reports:

Hivi sasa watu wengi wanataka kuwekeza katika elimu, hasa ukizingatia kuwa miaka ya hivi karibuni kumezuka tabia ya wazazi kuamini kila shule binafsi hutoa elimu bora [...] bado kuna utitiri wa shule zinazofunguliwa kwa nia ya biashara tu, bila kujali elimu inayotolewa. (Theopista, 2008)

Author's translation:

Today, most people wish to invest in education. This is due to the fact that in recent years there has been a tendency on the part of parents to believe that every PPS offers quality education, yet there are a number of schools open for business without considering the quality of education they provide.

The establishment of PPS is motivated by the urge to provide a needed service to the community, an appetite by parents for English-Medium Primary (EMP) schools, and the possibility of earning an income (Rubagumya, 2003). One owner of the PPS was quoted in Rubagumya (2003: 164):

The reason for starting the school is to make profit. I provide service for which there is a big demand. As the quality of education has become poor, parents are demanding quality English-medium education for their children. They are willing to pay for this service [...]. I am here to provide quality education and parents are willing to pay for it. I am making ten times more money now than I was getting as a secondary school teacher.

The use of English as LoI in PPS has made people blind, to the extent that they do not question the type of education offered in a

school. They are prepared to incur costs charged by the owners of the schools who have pretended to be providing quality education by covering themselves in the blanket of the so-called use of English in their schools.

The rise of the EMS, dubbed “Academies” by their owners, is also partly due to the pathetic situation of government schools and partly as an expression of rejecting Kiswahili and promoting English as a language of the elite. Parents who are rich are sending their children to these schools. So far, these schools are doing good business financially, if not pedagogically. The hybrid products from these schools might eventually fit into neither Tanzanian nor English society. This situation does not seem to worry the parents at all (Mulokozi, 2004).

English has become a commodity which parents seek to buy for their children. They think that good quality of education is in the EMS (PPS) but in a real sense they are buying an inadequate English language. English is seen as something which is very important and leads some well-to-do parents in Tanzania today to send their children to neighbouring countries, just for primary education. Some send their children to Kenya where they study in English-medium primary schools (Neke, 2003).

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A comparative appraisal of teaching and learning resources in private and government primary schools in Tanzania: Implications for teaching and learning

Mwajuma Vuzo

Introduction

The results of the LOITASA Phase I research suggest that students would perform better if the medium of instruction (MOI) was Kiswahili (Galabawa and Lwaitama, 2006; Brock-Utne, Desai and Qorro, 2005; Vuzo, 2007). There are views that students attending privately owned English MOI primary schools tended to perform better than those in government owned Kiswahili MOI primary schools. This view has called for the need to carry out an experimental study to test the validity of this conception. This is part of the main focus of LOITASA Phase II.

Privately owned primary schools however, tend to have more teaching and learning facilities, better qualified teachers and several other factors that enhance teaching and learning in these schools and consequently contribute towards the quality of performance in these schools. These factors could be the actual cause for the better performance of students from these schools rather than the medium of instruction.

The baseline study was designed to give a comprehensive picture of teaching and learning resources in government compared to English medium primary schools. The baseline study was conducted in the Morogoro and Dar es Salaam regions from December 2007 to January 2008 in order to obtain private primary schools where fees are not among the highest and parents are therefore not of those with the most money, and also to locate a government primary school with parents of about the same income bracket as in the private school. Once these schools are obtained, they will be used in the LOITASA Phase II quasi-experiment after the preliminary arrangements such as permission to conduct research in the relevant schools has been granted by their respective school bodies.

Objectives of the study

These were the main objectives of the study:

1. To find out the teaching and learning resources in government and private primary schools.
2. To find out the professional qualifications, remuneration and benefits of teachers working in private primary schools compared to government primary schools.
3. To find out, in general, the kind of parental support given to children attending government primary schools compared to those attending English-medium primary schools.
4. To find out the general learning facilities available in the homes of children from government primary schools compared to those of children from private primary schools.

Research questions

The following were the main research questions:

1. What teaching and learning resources do government primary schools have compared to private English-medium primary schools?
2. What are the professional qualifications, remuneration and benefits (if any) of teachers working in government primary schools compared to those working in English-medium primary schools?

3. What parental support in learning do children from government primary schools have compared to those from English-medium primary schools?
4. How is the general performance of children attending government primary schools compared to those attending English-medium primary schools?
5. What is the social economic status of parents taking their children to English-medium primary schools compared to that of parents taking their children to government primary schools?
6. What are the general facilities for learning available in the homes of children attending government primary schools compared to those attending English-medium schools?

Definition of terms

Teaching and learning resources

These are the materials that are used for teaching and learning. These include things such as textbooks, teaching aids, classrooms, chairs, desks, computers and many other items that are used for teaching and learning.

English-medium primary schools

The Education and Training policy in Tanzania was the first policy that permits privatisation as it stipulates that all the levels of education are open to private actors. This was previously not the case as the government was the sole owner and provider of the education in all sectors. In section 5.3.2 of this policy it is stated:

In order to meet the envisaged demands on increased schools inputs and resources, measures will have to be taken to reduce dependence on government in the establishment, finance and management of primary schools. Therefore, the establishment, ownership and management of primary schools shall be liberalized (MoEC, 1995: 36).

With privatisation of schooling in Tanzania there has been the mushrooming of so-called English-medium primary (EMP) schools

or international schools all over the country, especially in urban areas, leading to the intensification of the English-only policy at the secondary level to private primary schools. It is noted that of the 85 English-medium primary schools registered by the year 2000, 67 (80%) were registered in the 1990s. However, as emphasised in Rubagumya (2003) these schools account for a very small proportion (0.5%) of all primary schools in the country, and the number of pupils an even smaller proportion (0.3%) of all primary pupils.

The main reason that parents take their children to these schools is that they are English medium. Although Rubagumya (2003) has verified that really their excellence in this respect of offering English language education is open to discussion, these schools make vast business although they do not concern a large part of the population. Most of these schools also have better teaching and learning facilities. There are, however, some that do not have much difference in teaching and learning resources compared to government primary schools. Hence the need for this survey research.

Government primary schools

These are schools that are run by the government. In these schools, primary education is supposed to be free of charge. The medium of instruction in these schools is Kiswahili. In 1995 the Ministry of Education distributed the Education and Training Policy in Tanzania, some selected aspects in relation to the MOI stated that:

The medium of instruction in pre-primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject (ibid.: 35).

The medium of instruction in primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject (ibid.: 39).

It is expected that at the end of seven years of primary education, pupils will have acquired and developed adequate mastery of this language, both spoken and written, to cope with the demands at secondary, post-secondary and the world of work (ibid.: 44).

In this level, Kiswahili and English are also taught as subjects. The Education and Training policy in Tanzania also increased the number of years in which primary students would study English, mandating that students start in the first year of primary education instead of the third. Teachers teaching at this level are supposed to have teacher education certificate qualifications.

Literature review

Colonial governments introduced the colonial languages in schools, thus making them the languages of the few educated Africans who could communicate with each other and with the colonisers. This has made these languages develop as international languages as Phillipson (1992) also notes that towards the end of official colonisation, there has been accelerated development of very few world languages at the top and a large number of barely viable vernaculars or minority languages at the bottom. Therefore, dependency was perpetuated through the use of former colonial languages, which for Africa meant: English, French, and Portuguese and to some extent German, Dutch and Italian. This has contributed to the ever-increasing inequality among the World's languages, which Phillipson (1992) refers to as linguistic imperialism.

This is in agreement with Mazrui (2003) who asserts that English and other European languages have continued to mesmerise African policy-makers long after the end of direct colonialism. The European languages, in which Africans are taught, are therefore potential sources of intellectual control. This accentuates the point mentioned by Brock-Utne (2004b) that in actual fact, donor pressure, as well as the impact of the capital-led market economy, often called globalisation, work towards the retention of European languages.

Under globalisation, as Heller (1999) emphasises, languages are coming to be treated more and more as economic commodities. The commoditisation of language affects both people's motivations for learning languages and their choices about which languages to learn. It also affects the choices made by institutions (local and national, public and private) as they allocate resources for language education. Tanzania is no exception. In the Education and Training Policy of 1995, it has been declared that education is an area of investment (MoEC, 1995). Thus, in the global capitalism formation,

education is to be viewed as a private good and provision of it has to be based on cost efficiency, market competition, consumer choice, and unequal distribution.

Phillipson (1992) argues that although English was imposed by force in colonial times, contemporary language policies are determined by the state of the market demand and the force of argument (rational planning in the light of available facts). In this way, English has been marketed as the language of development, modernity, scientific and technological advancement, the language for “international communication and understanding”, economic “development”, “national unity” and other similar positive ascriptions.

In spite of Kiswahili being so eminent, English in Tanzania continues to possess enormous attraction with the ambiance of globalisation that now prevails on the African continent and in Tanzania as well. Tanzanians are keen and desperate, to some extent, to learn English although it has no immediate functional role in everyday life. At present, some indigenous factors are encouraging the spread of English; market forces are increasingly dictating the language policy at the primary level of schooling. The demand for English seems to override the practical demands of a language that may facilitate teaching and learning. For instance, after the Education and Training Policy of MOEC (1995) permitted the liberalisation of schools, there has been a mushrooming of English-medium primary (EMP) schools (Rubagumya, 2003).

However, the general emphasis that is given to the English language can be queried. Graddol (2001) for instance alerts us to the fact that the rush for English around the world may prove to be a temporary phenomenon which cannot be sustained indefinitely. It is associated with the “first wave” effects in a period of global change and the transitional nature of the global economy. Languages other than English are likely to achieve regional importance while changed economic relations with the USA or the UK for instance with other parts of the world may alter the rationale for learning and speaking English.

The spread of English may serve the interests of particular socioeconomic groups who demand it. Most well-to-do parents and middle-class parents get attracted and take their children to these schools, the majority of which were registered in the 1990s (Sumra

et al., 2000). The main reason that parents take their children to these schools is that they are English medium on the premise that Kiswahili cannot help children in the globalised world and in particular when it comes to the learning of science and technology. These schools make vast business although they do not concern a large part of the population. Most of these schools also have better teaching and learning facilities. Although this researcher has verified that their excellence in this respect of offering English language education really is open to discussion, parents conceive these as better alternatives (Rubagumya, 2003).

With the increasing popularity of international schools, we find that there seems to be inculcated the notion of the proliferation of inequality in providing education where students coming from English MOI primary schools joining secondary schools are better placed, which could be demoralising for those from Kiswahili MOI primary schools. This verifies the point made by Fishman, Cooper and Rosenbaum (1977) in a study conducted in non-English mother tongue countries that discovered that poorer nations were more likely to rely on English as a MOI than were richer nations. Poorer nations were also less likely to provide equal opportunity to learn English through formal schooling. This calls for the need to revisit the issue of the MOI in Tanzanian primary schools, hence the rationalisation for this study.

Methodology

Access to the setting

Access to the research setting for this study was facilitated and obtained through the LOITASA project. Research clearance was obtained from the UDSM. Further consent was obtained from the respective municipalities; Dar es Salaam (Kinondoni and Ilala) and Morogoro municipality. The consent from the respective municipalities facilitated easy access to the respective schools.

The context of the study

The study was conducted in a total of 6 schools; 3 private English-medium primary schools and 3 government Kiswahili-medium primary schools. In the Dar es Salaam region, a total of 4 schools

participated. They were 2 English medium primary schools; D 1 located in Sinza and D 2 School located in Mbezi beach, both schools being in the Kinondoni district. There were also 2 Kiswahili medium primary schools; D 3 primary school located in Sinza/ Kijitonyama and D 4 primary school located in the central city of Dar es Salaam at the Ilala district. In the Morogoro region, 2 schools participated in the survey; M 1 primary school was an English-medium primary school and M 2 primary a Kiswahili-medium primary school, which is located in Morogoro. All aspects related to fieldwork for this study were carried out from December 2007 to January 2008. In between there were breaks because of interruptions of the respective school calendars. Hence, this posed some constraints related to time for the study.

Population and sampling techniques

Sampling is essential for all studies. Likewise, in this study sampling techniques were employed to connect the goals of the study to the practical considerations of conducting the research. Sampling techniques were also used on the grounds that Miles and Huberman (1994: 27) emphasise that “no study, whether qualitative, quantitative or both, can include everything, you cannot study everyone everywhere doing everything”. The main sampling technique that was used in this study is purposive sampling. Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 370) define purposive sampling as that which “seeks out groups, settings and individuals where [...] the process being studied is most likely to occur”.

Target population

The target population in this study were private and government primary schools. Students and teachers were used in this study. Teachers are usually involved in the implementation in schools, while students are the main actors in the learning process. Head teachers are the overseers of teaching and learning in their respective schools.

Accessible population

Due to time constraints, the research was carried out in two regions; the Dar es Salaam and Morogoro regions. A sample was

drawn purposefully in these regions as it was not possible to collect data from all the individuals of the target population. A total of six schools were selected purposely. In the Dar es Salaam region, two government primary schools were selected purposely because they are located in middle-class surroundings such that students attending these schools would reflect these environs. These schools also have reasonably good performance. Similarly, two private schools were selected in Dar es Salaam on the same basis. This was such that these schools were English-medium schools that middle-class parents could afford to take their children to. In the Morogoro region, two schools were selected purposely because they are within middleclass environments and they also have reasonably good performance.

Students were selected purposely because they were in Grade 4. Denscombe (2003) mentions that in purposive sampling, a researcher can concentrate on instances that will display a wide variety of, and may even focus on, extreme cases to illuminate the research question at hand. In the same manner, student interviewees were selected purposefully on the basis of their performance. A total of 6 students were selected to reflect students in the different levels of performance. Of these, 2 students were selected from the top positions, 2 from the middle and 2 holding the last positions. A total of 36 students participated in the interviews. An equal total number of 18 boys and 18 girls participated in the study. Teachers were also selected purposely because they were teaching Grade 4 in the following subjects; Mathematics, English, Kiswahili and Science. A total number of 24 teachers participated in the study; 4 teachers from each of the 6 schools.

Since there were 6 schools involved in the study, 6 head teachers participated. A total of 12 parents participated in the study; 2 parents from each of the schools. The parents were selected purposely because their children were in Grade 4, which was the focus of the study. The details on the sample are represented in the table below:

Table 1
Sample size

	Private primary schools	Government primary schools	Total
Head teachers	3	3	6
Teachers	12	9	21
Students	18	18	36
Parents	6	5	11

Research instruments

Several methods were used to provide adequate information pertinent to the research questions on the basis of the logic of triangulation that:

No single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors [...] because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observation must be employed. This is termed triangulation. I now offer as a final methodological rule the principle that multiple methods should be used in every investigation (Denzin, 1978: 28).

The following methods were used:

Questionnaires

A set of questions on a topic or group of topics designed to be answered by a respondent. Other forms for questionnaires include check lists and rating scales. Designing questionnaires that are valid, reliable and unambiguous is a very important issue (Richards and Schmidt, 2002). A questionnaire was prepared and administered to the 6 heads of schools only. The questionnaire sought to find out:

- The details of the teaching and learning resources available in schools.
- The school capacity in terms of students, staff and non-academic staff.
- The general facilities and services available in the respective schools.

- The respective qualifications of the teaching staff and non-academic staff.
- The general school structure and location and catchments area.
- The total school fees paid per year and the mode of payment.

Interviews

Kahn and Cannell (1957: 149) describe an interview as “a conversation with a purpose”. Marshall and Rossman (1999) affirm that interviews combined with observation, allow the researcher to check description against facts. This was the case in this study. Interviews were integrated in this study in order to substantiate the observations. Therefore, interviews in this study enabled getting an in-depth insight and details of the meaning that the subjects make of their experiences. Separate interview guides were prepared and used for conducting interviews with head teachers; subject teachers of Kiswahili, English and Mathematics; and students and parents of students from the schools. They had a list of questions pertinent to the research topic. This facilitated a reasonable flow of questions. The questions sought to find out the following information:

- The general teaching and learning resources of schools.
- The general factors that contribute to the performance of the respective schools.
- Head teacher and teacher remuneration and benefits of working in the respective schools.
- The economic status of parents of children attending these schools.
- The general learning facilities and support provided from the students’ homes.
- The general factors guiding parents to take children to these schools.

Observation

According to Lofland (1971: 93), observation refers to “the circumstance of being in or around an on-going social setting for the purpose of making a qualitative analysis of that setting”. An observer must somehow organise the complex reality experienced so that observing that reality becomes manageable, hence the need for

sensitising concepts. Sensitising concepts provide a basic framework highlighting the importance of certain kinds of events, activities and behaviours (Patton, 2002). These alert us to ways of organising observations in recording as some way of organising the complexity of experience as it is virtually a prerequisite for perception itself and it serves to guide initial observations. Hence, sensitising concepts were prepared and used in this study. The focus of the observation was on the general school environment and classroom organisation and classroom interaction patterns (see appendix for details).

The findings of the study and discussion

General characteristics of the schools

All the schools that participated in this study were day schools for both boys and girls. These schools are recognised and have registration numbers. These schools also used Tanzanian syllabi despite the fact that there was a variation between the total numbers of terms per year. Most of the schools had two terms per year; all the government primary schools and two of the private schools, except Dar es Salaam International School, which had three terms per year. The government primary schools also have no school fees paid; however there are a few contributions paid by parents. These contributions vary from school to school. Generally the government schools are located in middle-class environs and it is expected that most of the children come from these areas.

The findings of this study show that there are very few economic resources available to government primary schools, compared to private schools that do not charge much school fees.

Salaries paid to teachers and head teachers

It was noted from the survey that there is a slight difference in teachers' salaries between government and private primary schools. The salaries for teachers of grade A level employed in government schools ranged from 100 000 to 300 000, whereas that of teachers in private schools ranged from 150 000 to 300 000. However, it was noted that there were some benefits that mainly teachers of private schools gained, compared to teachers in government schools. Details on salaries paid are presented in the table below.

Teaching and learning resources available

Generally teaching and learning materials seem to be less in government primary schools. All heads of school and teachers from government primary schools reported that teaching and learning materials were not enough. In the private primary schools, it was reported that there were a reasonable number of teaching and learning aids. In D 2 school, the school provides students with all the required textbooks and exercise books, likewise, teaching aids like charts and globes are available at the school. In M 1 primary school the same applied. In D 1, textbooks were provided only to the teachers and not to the students. The parents were asked to buy the books for the children, which most of the parents did. There were a few exceptions where parents could not afford to do so. In D 1 also there were books available in the school library that the teachers could lend students in class sessions. Teaching aids like charts in this school were not as available in comparison to the other two private schools. Likewise, the head teacher said that there were new syllabi that the school did not have yet.

Classrooms in government primary schools like M 2 and D 3 seemed to be overcrowded with at least three students sharing one long desk. The situation seemed to be better in D 4 primary schools where the classes seemed to be a bit more spacious and at least only two students shared a desk, while other students had a desk to him/ herself. In the private primary schools I visited, students sat comfortably. A student had a desk and chair to him/herself. The average number of students in government primary schools was high – between 50 and 70 students per class. This was contrary to private schools where class sizes run between 25 and 35 students per class. This implies that the student–teacher ratio was higher in government primary schools.

Computers were not available in any of the government primary schools but were available in all of the private primary schools. D 2 had 38 computers in use, M 1 had 13 and D 1 had 10 computers in use.

Other learning facilities were available in private primary schools and not in government primary schools. These included things like libraries, teachers' houses, kitchens, and laboratories. It is however noted that a functioning library was only present in one private primary school; M 1 primary school. D 1 had a library that was not

functioning and in D 2, the library was still being built. Students in the private schools were given something to eat during break sessions contrary to government primary schools. However in M 2 primary school, students in Grade 4 and seven (examination grades) were provided with lunch and parents in these classes had to pay an extra fee for this.

There are also special subjects that are taught in these schools and which are not taught in the government primary schools. In D 1, students are taught French as well as computer as a subject. In D 2 students are taught computer, arts and crafts and music as subjects by qualified teachers from Chuo cha Sanaa Bagamoyo. In M 1, primary students are taught computer as a subject. These subjects could serve to attract parents to take their children to these schools.

Teacher qualifications and workload/working conditions

All the teachers working in the government primary schools met the requirements of teaching at this level. All had a certificate in teaching. The workload for teachers in government primary schools was not big compared to that of teachers working in private primary schools. On average, most of the teachers had not more than 19 lessons per week. This was contrary to private schools where, on average, teachers had 28 to 30 lessons per week. Although the class sizes are not as large in private primary schools, it can be inferred that the use of teachers was maximised, reflecting the business-orientated nature of these schools. There were few offices for teachers in government primary schools. Generally there was usually only the head teacher's office and 1 staffroom. Teachers in these schools received no benefits from working in these schools other than their salaries.

In private primary schools, the teachers had similar qualifications to those in government primary schools. Most of the teachers employed in these schools had a certificate in teaching. There were, however, some of them who had higher qualifications like diplomas but nearly none had degree qualifications. Details are presented in the table below.

Table 2
Teacher qualifications in private and
government primary schools

School	Teachers Qualifications		
	Certificate	Diploma	Other
M 1	23	10	2 (Form VI)
D 1	13	1	1 (degree)
D 2	20	25	-
D 3	37	-	-
M 2	28	4	-
D 4	37	2	-

It was expressed by the heads of school of government primary schools that there was a serious shortage of teachers. In private primary schools, all teachers seemed to be available, however, their workload suggests that there was a shortage of teachers, since the teachers available had quite a lot of classes to teach, even though the number of students in each class was not much, compared to government primary schools.

It was highlighted that teachers' competence was an issue. Some of the heads of school in private schools felt that the products from teacher colleges needed to be improved. The head teacher of D 1 for instance commented that the English competence of teachers in his school was not good.

Another major qualification that was considered by at least two of the private schools, M 1 and D 1, was the English language competence of the teachers. This was assessed during the interviews to join the schools.

Nearly none of the schools provide transport or housing for the teachers. It is only at D 2 that the teachers are given a housing allowance. Likewise, teachers board the school buses to and from school. Hence, except for the D 2 school exceptions, the general teaching and working conditions could be said to be similar.

Supporting staff and qualifications

It was noted from the survey that there were nearly no supporting staff employed in government primary schools. These schools had no

secretaries, bursars, storekeepers or office attendants. These schools only had one security guard each. This was a local arrangement that was done by the school administration and parents. Hence, the guard was not employed by the government and did not have any qualifications. In M 2 primary school, the head teacher mentioned that they assigned different teachers to carry out some of these roles such as storekeeper and secretary.

Conversely, in private primary schools there were supporting staff with the requisite qualifications of a certificate in their specialty and some with higher qualifications. In D 1 there was a bursar, secretary, storekeeper, librarian, several office attendants and the school had hired a security company. In M 1 primary school there was a librarian, bursar (diploma), office attendants and security guards with only primary education. In D 2 there was a bursar (degree), two secretaries (certificate and diploma), several office attendants, an administrator (diploma), a nurse and a security company has been hired at the school. These findings indicate that in private primary schools, many more people, apart from the teaching workforce, are invested in the running of the school.

Sports facilities

In all the schools, the playgrounds were inadequate. In D 4 primary school, there was no playground other than an open space that was also used for parking cars. In the other government primary schools, there was a football ground only. This ground was used to play other games as well. In D 1 for instance, there was a football and netball ground. However, the condition of the playgrounds could be said to be poor. There were also very few balls available in all schools. The same applied to M 1 primary. Only D 2 school had a netball ground and several swings for children as well. The playgrounds were all small in size. Generally, it can be argued that, apart from probably D 2 school, there was not so much difference as far as playgrounds were concerned between private and government primary schools.

Other facilities (transport, water and electricity)

In government primary schools, most of the students come to school via public transport. A few of the students are brought to school by their parents and a couple of students also walk to school. This

was the case for students living nearby the school. There was also some local arrangement by some parents whereby their children were brought to school by taxi or by buses locally hired. Generally, government primary schools had no school buses. Electricity was available in two of the government schools, M 2 and D 3, but in D 3 primary there was no electricity. However, plans for electricity were underway. There was also tap water available in all the government schools.

In private primary schools, the situation was slightly better as the schools took it as their initiative to hire private buses from private owners to transport students to and from school. In D 2 school, a tender was given to a transporter. Other students also came to these schools by public transport; this was especially the case for M 1 and D 1 primary schools. A few students living nearby the schools walked to the schools. These schools also had electricity and water facilities such as tap water and storage tanks.

Financial status of parents

Parents taking their children to government primary schools in this study were gauged as low to average economically. It was claimed that parents taking their children to M 2 and D 4 primary schools were mostly civil servants. These schools had few students who could be said to be low economically. Parents taking their children to D 3 primary were mainly dealing with small business enterprise and had average incomes. The parents of children in these schools that were interviewed and were civil servants said that they could provide for their children's needs with minimal difficulty. There were 2 of 12 parents who said that they had much difficulty in providing for their children's needs.

Parents of children in private primary schools had better economic situations mainly because the school fees that they paid were much higher. In D 1 it was explained by the head of school that the situation varied and that they had parents of all economic situations. This view was also verified by the parents that were interviewed. One of the parents was a director of a learning institution but the other parent was dealing with small businesses or selling vitenge from Burundi. She claimed that the business was not as stable and that she was sometimes assisted by relatives to pay for her child's school

fees. This was similar also to M 1 primary school where the parents were of varied economic incomes and of mixed races (Hindi, Arab, European and African). In D 2 school, most of the parents were said to be mostly high economically. The head master, however, mentioned that there were a few exceptions in which parents took out loans to educate their children in that school.

The main argument accruing from these findings is that the parents of M 1 and D 1 are more or less average compared to the parents taking their children to D 2 school. It also seems feasible to argue that since the fees paid in M 1 primary are nearly half of the fees paid in D 1, the parents of M 1 fit well in the average category in comparison to the parents in the other two private primary schools.

Parental factors for students learning

There are similar factors for parents taking their children to the schools that they did. Overall it is noted that most of the parents of both private and government primary schools seem to see the performance of the school that they have taken their child to, to be high. There were other factors that parents gave for taking their children to private schools such as the good parent-school relationship established through a student diary that the parents had to look through and sign each day when the child comes home from school. The following day the child delivers the diary to the school teacher who comments on it and the process continues. This applied for D 1 and D 2 schools but not for M 1. Other reasons mentioned for parents taking their children to government primary schools included low financial costs, good teachers in the schools and the school being nearby the home, as this was convenient in terms of transport or the child could simply walk to school. Good teacher-parent communication was mentioned only in one government primary school – M 2. The contrary was said to be the case, especially in D 3 primary school. Parents also gave different views on the benefits that they thought were accrued by their children by being in these schools. These are presented in the table below.

Table 3
Parental view of the benefits that children receive by being in either private or government primary schools

Type of School	Benefits accrued
Private	Knowing English Transport is provided The child learns and knows computer and also plays computer games They get exposure to different children of different races They improve in cleanliness
Government	The school performs well (many students pass) It is the best school in the municipality Teachers are putting in extra effort to ensure that the school performs well No transport is used Students are given a lot of exercises Extra time is given for school work at the school for examination classes (std four & seven). They leave at 4.30 pm instead of 1.30 pm Teachers are active and follow up on individual student progress

Table 4
Parental views on factors to improve teaching and learning in respective schools

School	Parental views
M 1	• Increase teaching and learning aids • Textbooks should also be available to students • Increase student homework activities • Increase communication between parents and teachers
D 2	• Organise subject seminars for teachers to improve their teaching • Teachers should be closer to weaker students
D 1	• Increase the number of teachers • The teachers employed should be well qualified
Government primary schools	• Increase teachers' salaries so as to motivate them and to improve their working and living conditions • The schools should be equipped with more facilities such as libraries that have books, teaching and learning materials and there should be more furniture (classes, chairs and desks) to avoid students squeezing into their desks and chairs. • Parents should be more involved in school activities

Parental assistance with school work given to students

The findings of the study show that most of the students get assistance from their parents and, if not their parents, then their siblings at home. At least 27 students from both private and government primary schools said that they got assistance, especially from parents. A total of 3 students said that sometimes they did and sometimes they did not get any assistance, while 5 students said that they did not get any assistance from parents at home (2 were from private primary and the others were from government primary schools).

A total of 16 of the students said that their parents provided them with all the textbooks needed and exercise books. Among these students were all 6 students from D 2 because it is the principle in this school that the school buys all the textbooks for the pupils. There were two other students from the other private primary schools and there were 8 students from government primary schools. On the average level, there were 10 students who said that their parents tried to provide them with only some textbooks. Of these, 6 students were students from private primary schools and 4 of them were from government primary schools. There were also 10 students who were not provided with textbooks by their parents; most of these students (8 of them) were those from government primary schools and only 2 were from private primary schools.

A total of 21 students (10 from government and 11 from private schools) said that their parents did not face any difficulties in providing them with school materials when they were asked to. A total of 6 of the students (from both government and private schools) claimed that the situation was moderate in the sense that sometimes the parents complained and that at other times it appeared easy to get school facilities from them. A total of 9 students (3 from private primary and 6 from government schools) said that parents seem to face a lot of problems in providing for their school needs. Some of these students argued that at least one of their parents had passed away or parents were just not financially able. Generally, most of the students from government primary schools expressed the view that their parents had difficulties providing them with school materials. Likewise, all the parents participating in this study said that they assisted their children with nearly all of the school provisions that they needed. Only 2 of 12 parents asserted that they faced difficulties

in providing their children with the school necessities.

These findings from parents and students in this study suggest that most parents from both government and private schools assist their children with school work. Parents also make efforts to provide their children with textbooks. This is especially the case for parents of children in private primary schools when compared to those in government primary schools. This is also in line with the view that most of the parents seem to be in a position to provide learning materials for their children with little difficulty.

Learning facilities available in students homes

At least 17 students said that they had computers at home that they also used. Most of these students were those from private primary schools, particularly those from D 2 school and a couple from D 1, with only one student from M 1 having such a facility at home. Among these were also 4 students from government primary schools who also had computers at home. A total of 19 students said that they did not have a computer at home. Of these, 5 students were from private primary schools while the remaining 14 were from government primary schools. With the exception of one student, all students in this study seem to have television sets at home. The only difference is the manner of watching television, whereby it is noted that some 9 students watch TV under parental supervision while 26 students watch TV freely at any time. Students watching TV under parental supervision are mostly those going to government primary schools; they were 7 of them.

All of the parents from government and private primary schools claimed to have television sets at home. Computers, however, were only present in 4 of the 12 homes of the parents participating in this study. Likewise, only 6 of 12 parents claimed to have a library at home – these were 3 parents from private primary schools and 3 from government primary schools. The remaining 6 of 12 parents argued that they had no libraries, but had places in the sitting room, at a corner or in the bedrooms where their children could study.

Time for school work at home

The findings show that most students from both private and government primary schools seem to get time to do school work at

home. However, there was a tendency from at least 5 of the students' responses from government primary schools that they got time to study after doing daily chores like washing their school uniforms and assisting with housework such as dishwashing. This kind of response was not noted from any of the students of private schools. In an extreme case, only 1 student from the government primary schools said that she did not get time to do any school work at home as she had to help with household duties. Hence, generally it can be inferred that most students, regardless of whether they are in government or private primary schools, get some time to do school work at home.

This view is in agreement with that of all the parents in this study who said that they allow time for the students to do school work at home and, moreover, that most of them assist their children with school work. Only 2 of 12 parents claimed not to assist their children with school work. They argued that they were very busy with work and had not the time to follow up on their children that closely at home as they returned home late at night.

Factors that contribute to performance in the different schools

The schools used in this study had reasonably good performance. Nearly all the students from both government and private primary schools said that they had a chance to participate in class activities. However, the factors for performance varied from school to school. The details of the responses to this question from the different schools are presented in the following table:

Table 5
Factors contributing to differences in academic performance in private and government primary schools

School	Factors perceived as contributing to performance
M 1	Qualified teachers; cooperation between parents and students (parents are informed and follow up on students' progress); most parents provide for students' needs; availability of teaching materials (textbooks, teaching/ learning aids); a well equipped library
M 2	Teachers' punctuality; school competitions for Standard 4 and 7; weekly tests and quizzes every day at 7 am; students are given a lot of exercises to do; parents that cooperate well with the teachers
D 1	Low teacher-student ratios (1:25); good teaching; fencing of the school gives a good school environment
D 2	Ample teaching and learning facilities; the school provides students with textbooks and stationery; teachers get several benefits and are committed; the school prepares seminars for teachers of various subjects to give them in-service training; good communication between parents and teachers through students' diaries; low teacher-student ratios (1:38)
D 3	The teachers teach and work so hard for the school i.e. they are committed, however, parents do not cooperate unless they are asked to do so by the school; crash programmes are conducted for Grade 4 and seven; tuition classes and monthly tests for each class
D 4	Teachers are hard-working, give students a lot of exercises and correct their exercise books frequently

Languages spoken at school and at home

In the private primary schools it was claimed by the head teachers, teachers and students that the language they mostly spoke within the school premises was English. Kiswahili was also spoken, though it was the policy of the schools to speak English and so it was insisted that English be spoken. In the homes, most of the children said that they spoke mainly Kiswahili. However, there were a few exceptions. A total of 2 children (1 from D 1 and 1 from D 2) said that they exclusively spoke English at home.

In government primary schools, Kiswahili dominated and English was rarely spoken - almost only during English lessons. In the homes, most of the children said that they spoke mainly Kiswahili. Some 4 of these students claimed to speak English out of school only when

they were attending tuition sessions in English or when they were doing school work.

Overall, a total of 20 students claimed to speak only Kiswahili at home. This figure included 4 students from English medium primary schools (2 from M 1 and 2 from D 2). At least 13 of the total students asserted that they spoke both languages at home with Kiswahili dominating the scene. These students were mostly from the English medium primary schools. Only 1 student from D 2 said that he spoke both languages at home with English dominating the scene. These findings signify that there is differential use of language at home. However, most of the students use Kiswahili at home or for those students who get the opportunity to use both Kiswahili and English, Kiswahili seems to dominate the scene. There are therefore few exceptions in this regard.

Findings from the parents in this regard show that only 4 parents spoke only Kiswahili with their children. The remaining 8 parents said that they spoke both languages, with Kiswahili dominating the scene and English being used rarely, when they were dealing with the students' school work. These findings solidify those of the students that Kiswahili seems to be the main language of communication in both the teachers' and students' homes, regardless of whether the children go to government or private primary schools.

Conclusion and recommendations

The findings of the study point out that there are differences in teaching and learning resources between private and government primary schools. However, there are factors related to teaching and learning resources that show that there is not much difference between government and private primary schools. In particular, it is revealed from the findings that school D 2 is quite high in teaching and learning resources compared to the other private schools. Schools D 1 and M 1 are not much different in terms of teaching and learning resources. However, in terms of space and total number of students and the fact that it is located in Morogoro and not in Dar es Salaam, school M 1 seems to be a better school than D 1. These two schools seemed little different in terms of teaching and learning resources, compared to the government primary schools. It is probable that these two schools are good samples of

low-cost private primary schools that have not many teaching and learning resources. This finding could solidify the view that English MOI perpetuates inequalities. Arnove (2003) notes that the use of English as a language of scholarly production and advanced studies advances inequality of education opportunities. In the majority of such circumstances, these children are exposed to better learning opportunities from home and even from their previous primary schools compared to the majority of their colleagues. This contributes to them being better placed and most likely more knowledgeable.

Qorro (2003) emphasises that the choice of MOI should be motivated by a desire to offer as many students as possible a good and decent education based on equal access, regardless of one's social background. However, this seems not to be case in Tanzania. In future, if the specific school administrations agreed, these two schools could be used together with government primary schools for further study whereby the teaching and learning facilities are made very similar.

As far as the government schools are concerned, there seems to be nearly no difference in resources between these schools. There is, however, a need to invest substantially in the government primary schools to make them in the large part similar to at least the lowly equipped private primary schools such as M 1 and D 1 in this study. This is so as to rule out the factor of better teaching and learning resources that may most likely contribute to the nature and quality of teaching and learning in private schools. There is a need to invest in at least the following aspects to attain some sense of equality in education provision between government and private primary schools:

- Teaching and learning facilities like textbooks, teaching aids, desks and chairs.
- Teachers' work conditions and benefits.
- Teachers' in-service training and provision of workshops (in these workshops teachers could be familiarised with new methods and approaches of teaching).
- Check and improve the cooperation that exists between teachers, parents and students.
- Where possible, classrooms could be increased to minimise the problem of over-crowdedness and the problem of double session that exists in school M 2.

- Check on additional school facilities like transportation to school and, where possible, provide students with something to eat during the breaks at school.
- Have contact with the parents of the individual students to check on the support that they have for their children in relation to schooling.

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Why is the choice of the language of instruction in which students learn best seldom made in Tanzania?

Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite

Introduction

This chapter examines the complex policy issues regarding language and education in Tanzania, where the choice stands between the use of a local language, Kiswahili, and a foreign language, English, as Language of Instruction (LoI). Studies such as those of Alamin Mazrui (1997), Catherine Odora (2002), Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2003), Martha Qorro (2004), Leketi Makalela (2005), Birgit Brock-Utne (2007) and Mwajuma Vuzo (2007) all conclude that LoI and local curriculum have to be taken seriously if one wants to achieve quality education. Tanzania has a school system emphasising Kiswahili as a LoI in primary school, a local curriculum and free schooling from primary to tertiary education. Free schooling was an important project of Tanzania's socialist post-colonial government. It was seen as essential in the effort to achieve social equity. Some of the new schools which have been built are private, English-language schools. Since poverty is growing in Tanzania, the growth in private schooling benefits does not reach the majority of the population.

In this chapter I will take up the issue of why the privatisation trend and the choice of English-based instruction is increasing. Parents and children are choosing English schools, even when neither they nor their children understand English. Most parents do

not understand the implications for their children having to learn in a language that is not their own. As referenced above, there are a large number of studies which indicate that the language used most frequently as a child, will be the one in which s/he can best understand what the teacher is saying and be understood. But this obvious choice is being discontinued in public schools beyond primary school and even earlier for students who enter private English-language schools.

In this chapter, I will examine why politicians, educators and parents either encourage or allow the trend towards using English in education to flourish. This is an apparent anomaly in a country where Kiswahili is spoken by 99% of the population and where only 5% understand English (Kimizi, 2007). Teaching in the local language contributes to continuity in the learning process and reduces drop outs. Therefore, the critical question is why the learners are not taught in the language they understand best from entry into secondary school level and onwards. In this chapter, I give attention to the barriers and impediments to using Kiswahili, the East African lingua franca, in secondary schools in Tanzania, and to an analysis of why private English-language schooling in primary school is growing, a development that reinforces the trend towards using English and which negatively impacts on the educational rights for poor and marginalised children.

Since 2001, the LOITASA¹ project has clearly demonstrated that Kiswahili is a sustainable quality learning tool in education. In this chapter, I build on the findings of the LOITASA project. The analysis is based on research done in conjunction with my master's thesis, including five weeks of field research in Tanzania. The research included the use of qualitative interviews with teachers, students and governmental officials, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and academics, as well as classroom observation and a review of official documents. My research was centred on two schools in Dar es Salaam: one a government primary school (GPS) and one a private primary school (PPS). The choice of one GPS and one PPS facilitated a comparison and contrast of the use of Kiswahili and English as LoIs. I also conducted interviews at the Ministry of Education and

1 Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa.

Vocational Training (MoEVT), the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) and the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA). I conducted interviews at the Ministry of Culture (MoC) because I found out that the MoC has a department which promotes the languages of Tanzania, and at the National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA).²

The historical context

These questions concerning language, education and power have their roots in Tanzanian culture and history. In this section, I flesh out the historical and political background relevant to understanding language and education in Tanzania today. Before the colonisation of Africa, each social group used its own language to educate its children. The issue of a foreign tongue as LoI in Africa emerged in the late 1800s with the introduction of “Western education”.³ During the colonial era (1885–1962), formal education (schooling) was initiated by colonial governments and Christian missionaries. Children began to receive basic education first in Kiswahili during the German colonial period and in English during the British colonial administration (Kimizi, 2007: 1).

The first President of Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere (1962–1985), had a strong vision of education and social action. One of the key objectives of Nyerere’s development strategy for Tanzania was to ensure that basic social services were available equitably to all members of society. He questioned the concept of schooling and understood that colonialism had based the schooling systems in their colonies on “Western” educational curricula and concepts. His idea was to rethink the idea of basic schooling in an African context. He believed that various forms of local knowledge were important and that the classical, European-style education that had been instituted by the British did not account for this (Nyerere, 1967). Nyerere’s idea was that the Tanzanian economy would also benefit from this merging of livelihood-based knowledge with classical education. His vision of integrating local economy and local education were seen as a way of resolving many of the problems of colonisation and

2 BAKITA: Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (Tanzania).

3 The “Western education” in this context refers to schooling or formal education with specialized curriculum, syllabus and professional teachers/instructors/trainers.

one-way development. Designing education in a way that accounts for local culture, language and life patterns would also bring back autonomy and pride in the country. After his educational reforms were put into place, he wrote:

Our national songs and dances are once again being learned by our children; our national language has been given the importance in our curriculum which it needs and deserves [...] changes have been introduced to make our educational system more relevant to our needs (Nyerere, 1968: 49).

Nyerere was clear on the point that one country should not depend on another to educate its citizens. He held that the developing countries of the world need to build their own school curricula. This freedom for Tanzania to define its own educational philosophy and system would help Tanzanians to achieve respect and freedom. This would also inspire local pride and cultural learning. According to Ki-Zerbo, an historian from Burkina Faso, these points about cultural learning and local needs have not been adequately addressed in Africa. He wrote that “for African societies, education lost its functional role” (Ki-Zerbo, 1990 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2002: 2). The problem today is that African countries are adopting the standards of the West. To motivate the active mind, one has to take into consideration the variations in different societies, differences in knowledge and different ways of teaching to achieve quality education. We need to see that the knowledge one learns in school is only one contribution to a complete education. Equally important is the incorporation of local curricula into the country’s own values and traditions. The experiences of Catherine Odora, who went to primary school in Uganda in the years before her country achieved independence from Britain, provide a perfect example of how colonialists of Africa oppressed the local population through the imposition of European culture and history. Odora (1993 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2002: 4) recounts how local people were taught to believe that a local waterfall was discovered by Europeans, even though the waterfall was known to the village for many generations and was a part of local folklore.

Nyerere’s goals emphasising local language and culture in

education were translated into the 1974 Universal Primary Education Movement: to make primary education universally available, compulsory and provided free of cost to ensure it reached the poorest segments of the population (URT, 2009). Why were these ideas abandoned? Why is there now a political acceptance of English as an appropriate LoI. According to Brock-Utne (2008: 104), “in 1967 Kiswahili became the medium of instruction throughout the primary school system in Tanzania”. However, the promotion of Kiswahili had begun much earlier, in the early-30s. It had been given the status of the official language for the inter-territorial East African Language Committee in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. After independence, the work of promoting the language was carried out at the Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR)⁴ at the University of Dar es Salaam as well as at the National Kiswahili Council.

Kiswahili, the African lingua franca

The National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA)⁵ was founded in 1967 by a government act. It was given a budget and a staff with the mandate to develop Kiswahili and make sure the language is used properly in the media. In the 1980s, the government gave consideration to implementing Kiswahili as a LoI, but in the end did not follow the proposition through (Brock-Utne, 1995). The arguments were that Kiswahili was not ready to be a LoI because of a lack of books and terminology. One of the executive officers at the National Kiswahili Council told me that “in the 1980s those arguments were ok, but now they are using the same argument even if everything is ready”. Academicians have tried to convince the government that Kiswahili is mature. Since the 1980s, both book publishers and the National Kiswahili Council have engaged in the development of scientific terminology. The executive officer concluded: “We have enough dictionaries now, and we try to convince the government.” Kiswahili is one of the official languages of the African Union and African countries give financial support to the promotion of Kiswahili. Nonetheless, both the government and the Tanzanian people still have problems resulting from the fact that Kiswahili is not an

4 TUKI: Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili (Tanzania).

5 BAKITA: Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (Tanzania).

international language with the same stature as English, French and other European languages. Emanuel Mollel, the Principal Cultural Officer who promotes languages of Tanzania at the Ministry of Culture in Dar es Salaam said:

We are trying to have Kiswahili as one of the languages in SADC (Southern African Development Committee). When Tanzanians can deliver their speech in Kiswahili, they will feel free. There are things you can express better in your language. For example, if you speak about rice, in Kiswahili you have rice in the field; it has another name when it is harvested and a lot of different names when it is cooked. But in English we know it as rice. In the field it is called *mpunga*, when it is harvested and the casks removed it is called *mchele*, when you cook it is called *wali*. You can prepare it in different ways and the name changes for example *ubwabwa*. You have so many types of cooked rice but in English it is just rice. It is the same for fish, if you are from the coast. This is why you can't express yourself well in English but you can in Kiswahili or in the local language.

Many people argue that Kiswahili is not appropriate for science education because there are theoretical concepts that cannot be expressed using Kiswahili. I was told by several sources that Kiswahili is not regarded as an "education language". However, Mollel, a former geography teacher, told me: "We came to a conclusion that I will teach in Kiswahili and give them the words in English because the exam is in English, but at least they understood". The costs of using Kiswahili in schools were also an issue for many informants, since writing and publishing books in Kiswahili would be expensive. Journalist Jenerali Ulimwengu, who has a good overview of the job situation and owns the newspaper *Raia Mwema*,⁶ downplayed this point: "Yes as a local language it can be expensive, but we are lucky, we have Kiswahili. It is unfortunate that those kids cannot speak their mother tongue, you introduce them to Kiswahili and then before they master this language, you switch them to English, a foreign language."

⁶ Which means "Good citizen" in English.

The widespread use of Kiswahili is a reality in most aspects of life in Tanzania, even if I found that the government is not interested in implementing Kiswahili as a LoI. Their argument is that English, as the new global language, will bring advantages to the country and its people. However, my research shows that Kiswahili is used in the vast majority of work places in Tanzania, including government ministries. During my interviews at the ministries, government officers would sometimes enter the room and converse with their colleagues, and their conversations were in Kiswahili. Telephone conversations in government offices were conducted in Kiswahili. Some government documents that I requested were not even available in English.

Professor Khamisi, who is the former Deputy Vice Chancellor at the Open University, pointed out that: “We are lucky to have Kiswahili as a national language, but if somebody wants to involve more languages it is not an either or.” Another point is that colonial mentality is still prevalent and many people believe that African culture amounts to nothing. The officer at the National Kiswahili Council told me: “If African culture and language is not equated with ‘development’, it will be impossible to change. The Japanese and the Chinese started from scratch but not us.” She concludes that “it is not a personal decision, it is a political decision, we are here to convince to change the education policy but with globalisation people are fearful. It is confusing.”

Ulimwengu argues in other words that using Kiswahili is the obvious choice since “in the Bantu languages, the concepts are familiar, you can give the children wisdom in Kiswahili. Their way of thinking is the same; therefore it is easier to transfer the knowledge”. Gertrude Mugizi, the Coordinator at the Policy Forum NGO, further argues that “the language will never grow if it is not used. Their Kiswahili is not good, since at school it is standard and outside it is colloquial. That is why they fail Kiswahili as a subject”. The paradox in Tanzania is that Kiswahili is not taught well either. The LoI should make new concepts clear and if this is not done well, learning will be impeded. Mugizi explains that:

There is a problem even with Kiswahili as a LoI and children master neither Kiswahili nor English. In government schools,

English is not well mastered. English deficiency is accumulated to secondary level and then how can it facilitate learning? It is then problematic; they are using a language that they do not master. Teachers do not have good command and are expected to teach in English. Parental aspiration for their children is to get a job, and they think being proficient in English is necessary. But pupils do not read and write English well. They are good at memorization, but are not taught to apply concepts rigorously. Same complaints that all of us have, big and small companies repeatedly said this even a long time ago when I was working in human resources.

Ulimwengu added a similar statement: “It is false that a bank will hire them because they know English, they better know their numbers, and otherwise they will be dropped. The situation is that they know neither Kiswahili, nor English, nor their mother tongue.” The problem is that a lot of Tanzanians think that it does not matter if you master Kiswahili because it will not take you anywhere. There is resistance to teaching in Kiswahili at secondary and tertiary level, in spite of the fact that the government has a council which works to develop the language and to avoid the misuse of the language, as well as to submit translations to quality control.

The officer at the National Kiswahili Council told me that “it is ambivalent; the government gives money but it is not sure what it wants. They are proud of this language as a national language, a language in the media, and in primary school level only”. Ulimwengu points out that “the government has a tendency to say it is the parents who are sending their children to English medium and in fact they do”. However, he is convinced that the government should analyse the situation in other countries and question whether there is any country which has made progress by teaching their children in a foreign language. He adds: “From time to time I go on the Internet and look at Asia, Europe, and what was the former Soviet Union, all those countries like Latvia, Ukraine, and see that they use their national language. Why not us?”

Khamisi, who is the coordinator of a new project supported by PITRO⁷ that will write and publish secondary books in Kiswahili,

⁷ Program for Institutional Transformation, Research and Outreach.

told me: “You can teach English, that is fine, but teach it well and so then you can talk of Democracy, if you can express yourself. It is also a human rights problem; books in Kiswahili will broaden the base for education.” One of the parents told me that “children have no foundation bases in English and the teacher faces language problems” and “even the teachers are not good in English”. If the teacher does not master the language, how can the teacher give quality learning? Teachers need to learn better English and the government has to take this issue into consideration.

Quality learning

A child learns best when s/he understands what the teacher is saying (Brock-Utne, 2005) and quality learning is about what will make the child develop her/himself. The Head of the Monitoring and Development Section at the Ministry of Education affirms that “language and quality are associated and language is related to quality”. Abdallah S. Ngodu, who is the Senior Education Officer in the Department of Policy and Planning Research Unit at the MoEVT, agreed with this in his answer to my question: What is the role of the LoI in the learning process? He responded that “it facilitates knowledge, and improves communication. It helps the cognitive learning”. This argument is, however, not taken into consideration when it comes to policy planning. It is obvious that many children who are forced to learn in English do not understand it well enough. This problem was elaborated by one of the mathematics teacher in the private school where I conducted field observations and interviews who said:

When we use Kiswahili it is better than when we are using English, because most of the teachers and pupils use Kiswahili. When we come in the class and are using English, we are not so competent. So if we use Swahili language it is better because I will feel free to say what I know, I can say what I want to say and then they understand what I am talking about, yes. When I am speaking Kiswahili, I am free, very free. I feel more comfortable than when I am using English. Also for children, here they are in two groups, one understands English well, then when you are teaching them, they understand, but the other group does not understand English well, so when you are teaching them mathematics they are supposed to learn two things, English and mathematics at the same time which

is very problematic.

This is similar to what Ngodu mentioned when I asked about pupils' performance: "In math, the performance is poor, and then comes English, and Science is even worse. In secondary school it is Science then English. We have few resources at Master level. Teaching itself has a poor quality." I will come back to the issue of performance below by showing the latest results. The Deputy Executive Secretary at NECTA confirmed Ngodu's contention, saying that:

The examination result shows that students are very bad in math; even in exams with multiple choices, results are not good. The essays in English are not well written at secondary school level, but in Kiswahili the essays are well written and understood. English is a problem. Government schools are average, and comprehension is average but the private schools are not doing so well either. The only schools that do well are the church schools. They have good facilities and motivated teachers.

The officer at NECTA concluded that "private schools are not performing as well as they used to. It is a business; they want good results to attract pupils. But someone has to do research on why church schools are doing better than other private schools". This view is consistent with Rubagumya's (2003 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2008: 105) claim that "while it is true that some EMP (English Medium Primary) schools are providing quality education, others are unfortunately just taking advantage of parents' demand for EMP schools to make money, and in the process they short-change the parents". I have constructed a table based on the latest exam results. The raw data was sent to me by Ngodu, since they were not available while I was doing my fieldwork.

Table 1
Primary School Leaving Examination candidates passed
in Standard 7

Sl. No.	Subjects	2007	2008
1	Kiswahili	80.23%	73.41%
2	English Language	31.31%	31.05%
3	Mathematics	17.42%	18.07%

The table shows that the performance in Kiswahili declined from 2007 to 2008, which confirms the statement of Mugizi: “At school it is standard and outside is colloquial. That is why they fail Kiswahili as a subject.” English dropped slightly from a low level, confirming the lack of quality learning. The exam results in Mathematics increased slightly, but remain very low. This reconfirms what the mathematics teacher in the private school said: “When you are teaching them mathematics they are learning two things, English and mathematics at the same time which is very problematic.” This data from the table merges results from both government and private/English-medium schools. According to Ngodu, the breakdown of results between government and private/English was not available.

The table below gives an overview of the results when it comes to the pass rates as well as the selection rates over the last ten years:

Table 2
Standard 7 pass and selection rate of those passed
from 1998–2008

Sl. No.	Year	Pass rate in %	Selection rate in %
1	1998	21.3	19.1
2	1999	19.3	18.8
3	2000	22.0	21.7
4	2001	28.6	22.4
5	2002	27.1	21.7
6	2003	40.1	30.1
7	2004	48.7	36.1
8	2005	61.8	49.3
9	2006	70.48	67.5
10	2007	54.18	90.29
11	2008	52.73	80.73

The figures are treated as percentages, not numbers. It means that in 2008, 52.73% of the students who took the exams passed and

80.73% of these were selected to join secondary schools. These data show that the exam results have been very poor. The officer at NECTA told me:

We are excited to look at the results, when you see some results, you want to cry. You see that some pupils understand the ideas but cannot express themselves because of the language barrier. We speak Kiswahili and know that the idea means something and the child could have expressed it well in Kiswahili but the English language is a problem for them. So much potential is lost.

One can question whether poor exam results are related to student abilities in school subjects or abilities in the language (Qorro, 2004). This raises the question of how the older generation learned English and how the teachers taught? Professor Mulokozi of the IKR at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) said:

When we were studying English at school, many of the teachers were from the USA, India and Europe; they were good and we had good books and school and class libraries. I remember in my class each pupil had to read one novel per week and write a report on the story. That means reading about 50 novels per year. By the time you finished, you could read and write English well. But today there is nothing like that and youngsters learn poor English. If you want to have good results, you have to invest and there is no way a child can learn a foreign language without reading books. I don't see how to succeed otherwise. Now they pushed English to Standard 1. It used to be taught from Standard 3 because being able to master the national language, to read and write well in Kiswahili first, was deemed important. Now some politicians and specialists are toying with the idea of abolishing Kiswahili as a medium, under the false belief that abolishing Kiswahili would make kids master English better. Parents from the upper-class send their kids abroad and the middle-class parents send their kids to private schools at a cost of two to three million shilling (sometimes more) per year, just in order to make them learn English.

Furthermore, he goes on to say that the solution to the “English problem” is simple.

The government needs to do the following:

- a) Accept that English in Tanzania is a foreign, not a second language, and teach it as a foreign language;
- b) Arising from (a), teach the language very well, with all the necessary facilities, books and teachers. If necessary, hire capable teachers from abroad or from neighboring countries;
- c) Teaching English as a foreign language demands change of methodology, as well as curriculum. It also demands that English be taught all the way from Standard 3 to university as a subject, while Kiswahili serves as the medium for the other subjects. The situation at present is that English is taught – badly – up to form four, after which it is assumed that the students have mastered and do not need to study it anymore.

He completed his point of view by giving me some examples:

They (in Uganda) wanted to teach Kiswahili in the schools in the 80s but were reportedly told by the World Bank that they will not be supported if they did so. They had to abandon using Kiswahili until two years ago. They waited 20 years! I will tell you an example, in the 60s–70s, Tanzania hired a consultant from Britain to advise the government on the question of the “falling standards” in English, and whether English was still suitable as an educational medium [You know, then, as now, our rulers think that it is better to hire consultants from abroad partly because of the hangover I talked about, and partly because Tanzanian consultants are deemed to be too patriotic]. Those consultants had to admit the fact that English was no longer serving as a suitable medium of education; that it was now an obstacle to learning; but when it came to suggesting the way out, the experts recommended more English teaching. After all, they were from the UK, and UK wants the use of her language to continue. Another example, in 1991 the book sector stakeholders set up a project known as the Children’s Book Project. Its mission was to promote writing and production of books in Kiswahili for children. At that time

there were hardly any books for children in Kiswahili, other than school books. Many countries supported the project like Sweden, Norway, Canada, and the Netherlands, but UK did not want to. When they (UK, through the British Council) saw that the project was successful (after having produced almost 300 Kiswahili titles), they decided to support production of several English language titles in the project.

Regarding Tanzanian government support for Kiswahili, Mulokozi points out that the government supports the Institute of Kiswahili Research, since the university is a government institution. They also finance the other institutions dealing with the promotion of Kiswahili, although the amounts provided are not adequate.

Drop outs are another issue that may be related to the quality of teaching. When I asked about high dropout rates and whether they were related to the language problem, Ngodu pointed out that “statistics shows that drop outs are not due to language issues, but because of truancy, absenteeism. 77% are caused by absenteeism in primary; the other reasons are pregnancy, death, illness, but not the language”. However Brock-Utne⁸ (2009) writes that “absenteeism may certainly have to do with conditions of schooling, teachers who do not show up, over-crowded class-rooms, irrelevant curricula”. Kisanji, the coordinator of the NGO named TEN-MET,⁹ said:

We advocate for Kiswahili as a LoI, via sector dialogues structure at the Ministry. We are members and we speak about this in all forums but in some places we meet challenges that cannot be ignored. People are arguing for a continuation of the current policy at the time of market economy, competition, not only at a global level but also at the regional level. In the East African community, children in Kenya and in Uganda communicate in English more efficiently. Here in Tanzania, they will employ people who master English. They employ Kenyans and Ugandans who are fluent in English, written and spoken. As the system opens up, people can move and work and the trend is to employ English speakers.

⁸ By correspondence, 20 April 2009.

⁹ Tanzania Education Network – Mtandan wa Elimu Tanzania.

Our arguments are that children learn better in a language they understand but at the same time globalisation, privatisation are pushing towards English medium, even parents do.

An important myth regarding both the interest in English and in the growth of private schooling is that mastery of English will improve job prospects. I have examined the sources of this myth and argue that the advantages of English in the job market are exaggerated.

Expectations about work

“English is Education” characterised what most parents seem to think about the choice of language in education. They believe that English will help their children to deal with the tough competition for jobs their children will encounter in the world, a huge concern of Tanzanian parents. Though not many Tanzanians leave Tanzania or work outside the country, it is the hope of many parents that their child will find work abroad. In their view, English will better prepare them for this. They believe that the job market demands English language competence. Most parents told me that because job interviews are in English, mastery of English is the key to entering the working world. As many parents put it, the strict work qualification is not necessarily English but without English the applicant is often not considered to be qualified. Ulimwengu asks: “Why do Tanzanians need English to find a job, are we in the UK? We do know that the language of globalisation is English but why should English determine whether you are qualified or not for a job?” Khamisi says this about English skills and job opportunities: “Why do we need English to get a job, when most Tanzanians do not understand English. That is for a minority of Tanzanians since most Tanzanians do not leave Tanzania. Why do you have to have English to get a job, we are not in UK. Until when will we be slaves?” This “myth” of English as a key to obtain jobs and good salaries came up in many of the interviews with parents. However, Mugizi says:

You will have more chances to get a job if you are qualified with average English, than if your English is fine without other qualifications. The big market does not value English but values

knowledge. It is cheaper for them to train someone to speak English. I don't think that politicians are listening to the market, to the private sector: The banks, communication, gas, those industries hire the one who has technical skills. I know because I worked in the human resources before working here.

When confronted with this, government officials responded that the government should respect parental choices since Tanzania is a democracy. The growth in private schools is partly due to the strength of this myth, whereas in truth a great deal of the success of PPS has to do with greater access to resources compared with GPS. One of the English teachers in the PPS said: "When you catch someone speaking Kiswahili, you ask them why they speak Kiswahili. They answer 'because it is my language, teacher'." It is a dilemma for the child, they learn in Civics to love their culture and then we tell them to speak English. It is difficult for them. Kiswahili is everywhere. English is like a punishment. If they speak Kiswahili they are punished and in some classrooms they will be made to wear a sign such as the one in the photograph below:



Confusion about general learning and learning a language

Learning and learning a language have different objectives. It seems that these different objectives are not taken into consideration in Tanzania. Ulimwengu (a former government official) told me that “the government does not invest time in thinking about Education, about what Education means”. I found out after the first few interviews with government officers that questions about language and learning were confused. The Principal Curriculum Developer at TIE argued that “all our teachers are able to teach English when they have graduated from secondary school”. If the requirement for teaching English is a secondary school certificate, we can question the quality of both the teaching and the learning of English. This brings us back to the argument of Qorro (2004) that there is a need for greater exposure to quality English.

This issue came up several times in my interviews. Parents are worried about the quality of English that their children are exposed to in school. On the other hand, Professor Khamisi worries about the consequences of learning in English for the other subjects. He said:

Those 17 years are the essential years to learn, why loosing time learning through another language in order to learn the language. Because education is for all if you talk about democracy, and by opening it to all then you can claim that you are a democracy. Otherwise you will ask them to vote for what? Ignorance. Freeing the mind is needed.

The confusion between learning English and getting a good Education is so strong that this inhibits the country's educational system and the country's development. Khamisi argues: “Go to China and Japan, what are their practices? They use English for information but then they go through the information in their language. That is how they develop.” Khamisi goes on to say: “If we use our language, we will stand to win in the long run. We will see if people are interested in knowledge or in English because it is a terrible mistake to assume that English is knowledge.” This point of view was expressed by several professors and language experts, but I did not find that the emphasis on learning first and giving English a

secondary role was emphasised in schools. These academicians have tried to convince the MoEVT to accept this point by investing their time, doing research and writing about their findings, and as Ngodu said to me: "This is not a new subject! There is so much literature written about it."

I found resistance to accepting these findings on language and learning in the MoEVT. The resistance is remarkable because of the consensus both within Tanzanian academia and abroad that the choice of a local LoI is important for good learning. In Tanzania, some of my academic informants proposed a kind of dual system, as Khamisi told me: "Let's have a bilingual policy, English through to university and Kiswahili through to university." However, many people fear this proposal and this makes change difficult. One of my interviewees said: "How long will it take us to understand that we are not British?" One informant put it this way: "Tanzania has to consider that the shift has to be done without any fear to be able to progress and let the country develop itself in its own way."

Qorro (2004), who is a senior lecturer in communication skills and former Head of the Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics at the UDSM, argues that students will learn better English if it is taught as a foreign language. Moreover, Qorro (2004: 98) points out that what should be emphasised in the learning of the languages is "to give students exposure to quality English by allowing English to be taught by only those who are qualified to teach it". She argues that the shift could be done without any fear of losing anything. On the contrary, Qorro (2004: 109) points out that "the two languages compete for the same function and learners end up as losers". Ngodu supports the view that the LoI plays an important role in the learning process as "it facilitates the learning process, and learning requires getting skills, and knowledge. That is why we have the 6 weeks English courses for learners who are to use English as LoI in secondary school and English is also taught as a subject in secondary". He is convinced that the 6 weeks courses will help students to master English. However, according to Qorro (1997: 98), "if policy-makers want to argue that the two sets of objectives are the same, that the main objective of education is the mastery of the English language, then that should also be clearly stated". The confusion between general learning and learning the

English language has been mentioned by Rubagumya (2003) and it is mentioned in several contexts by Malekela (2003) and by Brock-Utne (2005). Education means the acquisition of knowledge, but for many Tanzanians, Education means acquiring English.

As I pointed out in the previous section, this confusion is often related to economical factors, represented in this quote by one of the parents I interviewed who said: "Education without being able to use it is not worth anything, to have a job is what we need, and that is what we want for our children." In many private English schools, students are required to speak only English. Mulokozi explains the fascination with English in this way:

Many of the officials and politicians who make decisions on educational matters were educated under the colonial system and still retain a colonial hangover regarding the language of education. They tend to see Britain as their model regarding curricula and education generally. Besides, there is too much meddling in our educational and economic affairs by organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the UK institutions, such as the British Council. They give some financial assistance with conditionality, including demands that the English language must be retained and used in education and other spheres. The World Bank and IMF often advise our countries in East Africa that it is not cost effective to use Kiswahili, that it is cheaper to use English.

Kisanji added that "in the 80s we were ready to change to Kiswahili, but it did not happen. The cost was high, but now the demand for English is higher therefore parents are attracted, and the government believes in English. English market force dominates".

The growth of private schools

The most recent statistics on educational trends show that from 10 July 2008 to 9 October 2008, the numbers of PPS have grown from 502 to 518, which means an increase of 16 schools in a 3 month period, and this is only for combined pre- and primary schools.

Table 3
Growth in private combined pre- and primary schools

PERIOD	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI	OTHERS
10 July 2008	435	16	3
9 October 2008	452	15	3

Table 4
Growth in private primary schools

PERIOD	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI	OTHERS
10 July 2008	38	7	3
9 October 2008	38	3	3

If we look at the statistics from 2006 to 2008, the growth rate of PPS is increasing: 22 of them are in Kiswahili, 490 are in English and the remaining in other languages. Over the same period in 2008, GPS did not expand. This means that there was an increase of 98 schools teaching in English from 2006 to 2007 and an increase of 159 schools from 2006 to 2008.

However, the primary schools were not increasing but stagnating from 2006 to 2008, remaining stable at 38 schools teaching in English, whereas there was a decrease from 8 schools to 7 schools teaching in Kiswahili.

Table 5
Growth in private combined pre- and primary schools

YEAR	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI	OTHERS
2006	293	13	2
2007	389	16	3
2008	452	15	3

Table 6
Growth in private primary schools

YEAR	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI	OTHERS
2006	38	8	3
2007	40	8	3
2008	38	7	3

One of the important findings from this study is that parental decisions between GPS and PPS and between Kiswahili and English are made on the basis of insufficient information about the learning implications of their choices. It is essential that the government provides better information on the role of language in learning and on the advantages of Kiswahili as a LoI.

Many parents believe PPS provide better education due to the use of English, whereas according to my study, issues like access to books and lower teacher-student ratios are to a high degree responsible for the differences. This prejudice needs to be eliminated. There is a solid body of evidence which shows that it is a misguided strategy to switch to English.

This myth is also partly responsible for the growth of private schooling from the time when Tanzania adopted the Education and Training Policy of 1995 (Rubagumya, 2003), but in my view, the advantages attributable to greater resources get confused with the alleged advantages of learning in English.

Lack of resources

Books and reading material are also essential to maintaining literacy and my informants conveyed that the lack of books is problematic everywhere in Tanzania. In PPS they had 7 books for 20 students in English, which the English teacher had donated from his private money.

Another general problem is that many families cannot afford to provide their children with proper lunches. Schools do not provide food in order to improve children's health and ability to concentrate.

Teacher-student ratios are a big problem. In GPS, they had 70 pupils in Standard 5 with two streams which mean about 35 in

each stream, whereas in PPS they had 20 pupils. The teachers in the GPS schools need higher salaries and better working and living conditions if they are to be expected to stay in public schools.

My interviews with government officials revealed that an important factor is their fear of the costs and resources needed to make a change in the LoI policies, and the loss of support from multilateral development organisations that are indifferent to the growth in private schooling and to the consequences of teaching in a non-local language. However, government officials claim that government schools do well. This has to be communicated better to parents but the government official from whom I requested the data told me that a separate analysis of government and private/English-medium schools was not available.

Conclusion

Today's reality is that it will take time for the government to put into place a system to develop Kiswahili as a LoI in secondary and tertiary education. However, if the LoI is Kiswahili, this will provide a sustainable benefit for the country. As a result, children of all backgrounds will be able to perform better in school because children taught in any of the language varieties similar to their mother tongue are better off than those being taught in an adopted foreign language such as English, whose morphology denotes a competition of regular and irregular structures. A sustainable investment should be made in Kiswahili as the LoI in secondary school and the performance of students monitored in order to assess whether they perform better in school. Based on my findings, the costs are exaggerated and the benefits for quality learning underestimated.

From the point of view of learning, it is essential that a student develops the ability to conceptualise and analyse critically in order to examine what is happening in Tanzania and in the world. Learning to read and write in a local language improves students' abilities to think critically about their own conditions and about the world. This also contributes to self-respect and to pride in local culture. By reinforcing the importance of local languages, one reinforces the interest in local knowledge and culture. Ideally, one would choose a mother tongue as LoI, but in cases in which this is expensive and practically difficult to implement, a language such as Kiswahili, with

local roots and wide usage in public spaces is a good second choice. Nonetheless, greater numbers of Tanzanian children are learning in English every year. And this trend is exacerbated by the increase in enrolment in private, English-language schools. This trend not only weakens learning capacity but rather reinforces social inequalities.

One of the important findings from this study is that parental decisions between public and private schools and between Kiswahili and English are made on the basis of insufficient information about the learning implications of their choices. It is essential that the government provide better information on the role of language in learning and on the advantages of Kiswahili as a LoI. When confronted with this, government officials responded that it should be the parents' responsibility to seek out this information, and that the government should respect parental choices since Tanzania is a democracy. However, based on my results, the problem is that the parental misunderstanding about language and learning is based on a myth: They believe that having English as the LoI will improve students' learning abilities and their opportunities in life. The myth has to be deflated in order for parents to make informed choices. The growth in private schools is partly due to the strength of this myth, whereas in truth a great deal of the success of private schools has to do with greater access to resources compared with government schools.

What is keeping the government from changing their language policy? One government official told me that this was because of a paradigm shift: The policy of switching from Kiswahili to English midway through the schooling process, gives the impression that Kiswahili is inferior to English and that the local language is somehow inadequate in engaging with complex concepts. This reinforces the sense of inferiority of local culture and at the same time is disadvantageous for children of the lowest socioeconomic strata who have had little exposure to English at home. The best way to improve education is to take research results into consideration and not let the myth of the market's demand for English as a LoI continue to set the agenda.

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The ICT influence on the choice of language in higher education in Tanzania: Pictures from fieldwork at the University of Dar es Salaam 2008–2009

Torill Aagot Halvorsen

Introduction

LOITASA's main concern is the education of the majority of children in Tanzania and South Africa. The project presented in this chapter focuses on the Tanzanian elite; the staff and students at The University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM). As we, the participants at the LOITASA workshop in Cape Town 2009 agreed, while the elite in African countries are a part of the problem, they are at the same time a part of the solution. If consciousness is raised in higher education, it is likely that the consequences will involve and influence the children of the majority.

The language battle in African countries is going on at all levels and is very apparent in higher education. The former colonial languages, still after half a century, prevail as a dominating linguistic tool. Many countries, like Tanzania, carry the burden of this history. In higher education, many students and staff are suffering from the existing confusion among leaders and politicians. There is an increasingly

heated debate on the choice of language for teaching. One of the main arguments used in order to maintain English as the language of instruction (LoI), is to prepare the students for entry into new technology.

This chapter will illuminate the connection between new technologies and the choices being made in deciding in what language students are to be taught. Firstly, the chapter will present my ongoing project, run by the University of Oslo and the University of Dar es Salaam, which spans a period from 2008 to 2012. Secondly the preliminary findings from fieldwork conducted at the UDSM from October 2008 to January 2009 will be described. Finally, some reflections will sum up the elucidated findings.

Since my present project is ongoing research, I am still in the process of getting an overview of the collected data. The limited selection of findings should thus be considered as tentative; nevertheless, my intention is to share with you my impressions.

Setting the UDSM scene

When going to Tanzania for my pilot project at the UDSM in 2006, my intention was to focus merely on staff and students' ICT¹ activities in higher education – in communication activities and in teaching and learning activities connected to new technology. What I found was that indeed every single activity is connected to the issue of language. Therefore, it was imperative to rethink the focus of the project. Inspired by the work, experience and writings of Professor Birgit Brock-Utne (2000, 2005), together with the research results disseminated by LOITASA, information and communication technology were intertwined to form a reformed centre of attention: How does ICT Influence the Choice of Language in Higher Education in Tanzania?

At the UDSM, students and staff have, for many decades, encountered distress from the existing language situation. The University has experienced increasing problems when it comes to students' communication and study skills in English, which is the official language of instruction. The two major concerns have, according to Ishumi et al. (2003: 4) been: Failing levels of

1 Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in this project include computers offline and online on the Internet. It does not comprise radio, video and television use.

study skills and a falling proficiency level in the language medium of instruction. These problems have been, and continue to be, a subject of such serious concern that they require urgent attention, according to a report commissioned by the Chief Academic Officer at the UDSM. (Ishumi et al., 2003: 4). In 2008 it was confirmed that the situation was even worse than five years before and nothing had been done to improve the situation (interviews, 2008²).

The UDSM reports of 1999 and 2004 deplore the low level of students' English proficiency and claim that switching to Kiswahili as LoI would benefit the students. However, the same reports argue against this proposition as they claim that the use of Kiswahili as LoI would be a disadvantage for students in a modern, globalised world dependent on ICT.

The reports which are published by the university itself have revealed that many students' unsuccessful achievements are often related to language problems. The UDSM report called *Academic Audit* (UDSM, 1999: 8) points out the problems students encounter with English as the LoI:

The traditionally strong and enforced medium of teaching and instruction – the English language – is fast deteriorating among university students. Except possibly in reading written material, students do exhibit problems of speaking, writing and self-expression in this particular language.

Instead of taking the logical consequences of the investigation and switching to the use of Kiswahili as the LoI, the report suggests keeping English as the language of instruction, because English is the ICT-language! They recommend:

[J]udging from the current and projected trends and the fact that English is fast becoming the ICT language globally, UDSM should continue to use English as the medium of instruction. (UDSM, 1999: 29)

2 Interviews conducted as part of my fieldwork 2008–2009.

ICT is used as an argument to keep English as the language of instruction, because English is the ICT-language!

Another UDSM report, the *Tracer Studies in a Quest for Academic Improvement* (2004), also establishes the students' language difficulties. It points out the complications which arise in the teaching and learning situation when using a foreign language. Lecturers' English proficiency is often insufficient and students have problems with performing in English. At the same time the report asserts that Kiswahili as a LoI would impede the progress of the students in a modern, globalised world dependent on ICT. The *Tracer Studies* moreover point out students' deficient computer skills. The report concludes with 8 suggestions for improvement. None of them is connected to LoI or to computer skills.

The evaluation of students' achievement is carried out every fifth year. Accordingly, the next UDSM survey initiated by the university will be conducted in 2009. Professor Abel Ishumi has been a key person in the two previous university audits. In an interview³ with him as part of my research, he claimed that the current language situation is alarming and actions for improvement are urgent. To his knowledge, there had been no attempt to make improvements and no suggestion of any change from either UDSM leadership or politicians. At the time of writing this chapter, the status of the next UDSM Audit is unknown.

This description of the situation at the UDSM which points towards a stagnation and lack of decision making in solving the language problem, was the point of departure for further investigation and the setting for the recent fieldwork collecting data from student and staff ICT language practices.

Describing the project

Through a multi-method design, the project wants to illuminate the research questions at three levels: 1) A macro level targeting the national situation including educational policy and educational ministry, focusing on the policy in higher education in general; 2) An institutional level UDSM, particularly targeting key persons such as the Vice Chancellor, heads of departments and senate members;

³ Interview at the UDSM 4 November 2008.

and 3) A micro level mapping the individuals: student and staff activities.

Key research questions

- How does ICT influence the choice of language in higher education in Tanzania?
- How is digital literacy expressed at the University of Dar es Salaam?
- What is the interaction between language of instruction and students' and teachers' ICT activities?

Sub-questions

The study targets three levels: macro, meso and micro. They all contain several sub questions:

Macro level – National education policy

- What are the characteristics of policy concerning digital literacy in a Tanzanian context? OR How is digital literacy understood in the Tanzanian context and how is the policy framed?
- What are the implications of the national educational ICT policy on the choice of language of instruction (LoI) in higher education in Tanzania?

Meso level – University language and ICT

- In what way is there a relation between the UDSM's choice of language of instruction and the current ICT procedure at the institution?
- How does the implementation of computers function at the UDSM?
- In what way have plans of action and strategies put digital literacy into practice?
- How has the university prepared for options to choose a language when using computers?

Micro level – Individual practices

- How do students / teachers experience the language in use in connection with operating computers?
- Do staff and students consider themselves digitally literate?
- In what way do student and teacher activities indicate digital literacy?

Design and methods

The research project has a descriptive research design using a multi-method approach.

- I am using a quantitative approach including questionnaires from 160 respondents from three groups representing different faculties.
- Furthermore, I am using a qualitative approach involving document analysis of national and institutional policy; observations of students' and teachers' activities in classrooms and PC laboratories; as well as 43 semi-structured interviews with students, teachers, leaders and stakeholders. Finally, I am including interviews with focus groups of students and lecturers.

Approaching the field

In the following section I will describe the fieldwork conducted from October 2008 to January 2009. The description will centre on the meso and micro level of the project, i.e. the institutional and individual practices. Observations, questionnaires and interviews of 200 staff and students comprise the data collection. Since the project is ongoing research, I am working on the overview of the fragmented picture. The following limited selection of findings will be considered as tentative. By the time of writing, 104 of the 200 informants were catalogued.

When choosing the sample of respondents, I wanted to collect data from staff and students from three groups with anticipated different orientations:

- Presumed to be Kiswahili-orientated: Department of Kiswahili and Institute of Kiswahili Research.

- Presumed to be ICT-focused and anticipated to be English-language-orientated: Faculty of Informatics and Virtual Education (FIVE) and Faculty of Engineering.
- Presumed to be neutral to both language and ICT: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Faculty of Education.

The final-year bachelors and masters students were chosen. For questionnaires, the classes were chosen randomly within the three groups. For interviews, the interviewees were chosen purposely from those available and interested and randomly from students I met on campus. Informants from the staff were chosen intentionally from respective departments, faculties and institutes and from the leaders at the central administration.

The following presentation of findings is organised in two sections dealing with the key issues of the project: Language and ICT. Each section will have a brief background introduction.

The language battle

The language battle has been going on in African countries for many decades. In Tanzania, the former colonial language, English is still associated with high status, even half a century after Independence. English prevails as a dominating linguistic tool for knowledge development, a sign of being well-educated, and for obtaining employment. Even if Kiswahili is the lingua franca and the most natural language to speak in higher education and also in academic discussions and formal relations, the official language of instruction is English. As already pointed out, higher education in Tanzania suffers from the language situation. Apparently there is confusion among leaders and politicians with regards to finding a solution to the language problems among staff and students. It seems that an ambivalence and inability to act is paralysing the whole educational environment (Brock-Utne, 2002, 2005).

While research findings show that the use of foreign languages as media of instruction in Africa restrict access to quality education (Qorro, 2009), policy-makers have been insisting on employing foreign languages as the medium of instruction. In my present research at the UDSM, the old familiar arguments and attitudes put forward by politicians and leaders quoted in Qorro's research

are indeed confirmed. The common denominator revealed in the interviews during my research is that there is a misconception at all university levels and in all units on how to gain English proficiency. The argument seems to be stuck and doesn't go beyond this limitation, not realising that a language can be learned as a subject, English as a foreign language, rather than simply as a language of instruction in biology, philosophy, social science or any other subject.

In the following section, I will quote some of the responses of the interviewees to the question: Why is English still the LoI despite your own reports describing students' language difficulties?

Arguments connected to commercialisation, globalisation:

- English is the language of modernisation, new technology and globalisation.
- Students cannot go outside of Tanzania if they don't speak English. That will separate them from the rest of the world.
- We cannot compete in terms of commercialisation, in the external market, with Kiswahili.
- The official language of the university is English. We want to insist on that because some students want to go to study in other countries.

Arguments connected to literature:

- There are no relevant books in Kiswahili.
- In learning of common things like cows, plants and people, kids are fine with a familiar medium. However, as you go up the content knowledge ladder and get to concepts and principles, you need a more sophisticated language.
- Going Kiswahili medium can have disastrous consequences. The cost of translating is enormous and the depositories of knowledge stored in English will be difficult to access.

Arguments connected to employment:

- You need English to get a job, even in positions where English is not in use at work itself.
- It is very difficult. If you can't express yourself in English in

- the job interview, you are not given the job.
- I think there are so many factors that force students to speak English.

Arguments from politicians and leaders showing hesitance and ambivalence:

- We cannot go into something which we are not totally sure of.
- A bilingual system might be the solution, like in Canada.
- Kiswahili is the national language in Tanzania and English is the international language.

UDSM – Leaders’ statements on Tanzanian education policy:

- There is neither political will to change the language of instruction into Kiswahili nor any political will to develop the education system at all.
- Politicians want to be alone on the top, want to be few and do not let others go higher up the ladder.
- Politics in our country is a question of poverty. Quality doesn’t matter. Anything goes in the field of poverty.
- Today we have donors. They are using an enormous amount of money to promote their languages, English and French. And if we try to promote our Kiswahili, maybe they will block the donation they give. Everyone in the government is afraid of that.
- The main hindrance is the politicians but also peoples’ awareness.

UDSM lecturers’ and students’ quotations on policy:

- The situation is blocked by the policy. People have written lots of books, researchers have done a lot of research and they know the negative results we get. How far behind we get in development. But then the government seems very reluctant.
- I remember as a young boy - in the time of Nyerere - I was able to follow the discussions in Parliament because it was in Kiswahili. But now many Parliamentarians speak English

and Kiswahili. They do that in order to show that they have been to school and are educated. They put English words and concepts in the Kiswahili sentences.

- Nyerere said that Kiswahili should be the language. He said in one of his speeches: if you use English, Tanzanians are going to accept it, with Kiswahili, there will be discussions.

Attitudes towards colonialism (heads of departments):

- Our mindsets are so colonised that we allow this disparity to develop. In colonial times, people learned English, and the mentality from this era is still in our minds today.
- As long as English is the language of instruction in higher education in Tanzania, Kiswahili will always be inferior.
- It is essential to understand that the difference between the occupying power and those being occupied is psychological.
- We are suffering from a colonial hangover and have so far not found the medicine to heal the misery.

Quotations describing the English language status:

- People don't have a very good mastery of English. But it is often the same people who do not master English who think they must continue with English.
- The same people are now becoming parents and are saying: My child is to learn English because English represents a kind of higher class. That is the dilemma.
- Using English is similar to being educated. English is equal to knowledge.
- People feel very important when they speak English. People find themselves neither able to speak a good Kiswahili, nor English.

Quotations describing the Kiswahili status:

Students:

- When I communicate in Kiswahili I understand more, I can express myself better, and therefore I'm using the language.

- I wish I could write my thesis in my own language. Then I could concentrate on the topic. Now I'm using all the time on correcting my English writing.

Lecturers:

- If Kiswahili was the LoI students would learn the subjects better.
- Kiswahili used by lecturers in the classroom will make students understand more.
- The majority of Tanzanians have 3 languages, but the majority of them in 24 hours a day use Kiswahili for communication.
- Kiswahili is the key to development. Individuals need to develop in a language that speaks to their identity.
- If Kiswahili is in academic use, it will also develop to fit academic contexts: *Lugha hukua kulingana na matumizi* (Language growth depends on its use).

A tentative summary of the language situation at the UDSM indicates a consensus on confusion at all levels. A few respondents had strong convictions on choice of one or other language, while others sat on the fence. Nearly all informants had a door open for contrary arguments.

The interviews with the UDSM leaders gave me an unexpected impression. According to research conducted in 2004 (Peterson, 2005) by a Tanzanian researcher in Norway, leaders and decision-makers at the UDSM did not recognise the students' language problem, or were not aware or didn't admit that there was a language problem. In my research, however, four years later, the respondents (13 leaders) all revealed in different ways that they were aware of the UDSM reports and recognised the difficulties many students encounter. Despite this awareness, the attitude remained hesitant and ambivalent.

Finally throwing the UDSM ambivalence and inability to act into relief, two contradictory attitudes are quoted:

- Masters student, Kiswahili Department: Usually it is very embarrassing to be forced to speak or write English, for instance when we have to apply to the central administration

in order to get permission to write our thesis in Kiswahili.

- Professor, Faculty of Education: Tanzania has to break away from Kiswahili emotionally so that we can go for English 100%.

It is imperative to mention that the extreme attitude in the last quotation was held by only one interviewee. As pointed out above, staff and students' main position was characterised by confusion, ambivalence and hesitation.

ICT at the UDSM

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is increasingly utilised in higher education in Tanzania as in institutions worldwide. Several reports state that the number of Tanzanian Internet users and mobile phone subscribers is escalating (Mafu, 2004; WSIS, 2008; UNESCO, 2008). ICT is emerging as a part of on-campus delivery as well as open and distance modalities of higher education delivery. There is a raised awareness of the potential of ICT in education. The government, through the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), has developed an Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Policy for Education (July 2007). It is stated that MoEVT will structure the adoption of ICTs within the education sector. ICT is an issue that is much present in the minds of Tanzanian politicians.

The status of Internet use

Although the Internet has been available in Tanzania since the late-1990s, surveys (Souter et al., 2005) indicate that its use as a means of communication is limited and progressing slowly. Internet penetration is very low in Tanzania: only 2% of Tanzanian households have a working computer with Internet connection and an e-mail account (Souter et al., 2005).

My research 2008/2009 depicts a close to 100% coverage in Internet / computer use among UDSM students.

Figure 1
Internet Use

	Not at all	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	1–2 hours a day	3–4 hours a day	more, please specify	Total no. staff and students
No. of staff & students	2	16	22	27	24	13	104

Compared to the statistics of Souter et al. (2005), the numbers in Figure 1 imply that my research is dealing with a minority group in Tanzania, the elite. The major digital gap in the world is not necessarily between rich and poor countries, but rather within each country. This ICT phenomenon is principally recognised in fragile countries (Frønes, 2002).

Equipment at the three UDSM units

Observations conducted at the faculties, departments and institutes revealed an unequal amount of ICT equipment. At the Faculty of Education, computer equipment was apparently a prioritised issue, as depicted in Figure 2. The computer lab consisting of 30 Internet-connected PCs was available to Masters' students. The bachelor students also had access to a computer lab, although this was not as well equipped. In comparison, in the Kiswahili Department, no computer labs were available to Masters' students. The Masters' students who were teaching at the faculty shared an Internet-connected computer with two to three others in small offices.

The Faculty of FIVE, however, was well equipped with several computer labs. All computers had Internet access. Frequent power cuts occurred throughout the campus.

The distribution of ICT facilities at the institutional level is rather imbalanced and students are unequally exposed to the computer environment. The computer proficiency may develop in accordance with the uneven practices. The disproportionate supply of equipment will generate an implementation gap between different faculties. As one of the respondents reflected:

If donors like US Aid and British Council want the country to develop, why don't they sponsor and provide computers to the Kiswahili Department and the Institute of Kiswahili Research in order for Tanzania to grow and meet the future in its own language like all developed countries do?

The ICT influence on students' choice of language at the UDSM is relatively uneven, depending on which faculty students study in.

Figure 2
Computer lab in the Faculty of Education



Kiswahili and English in ICT activities

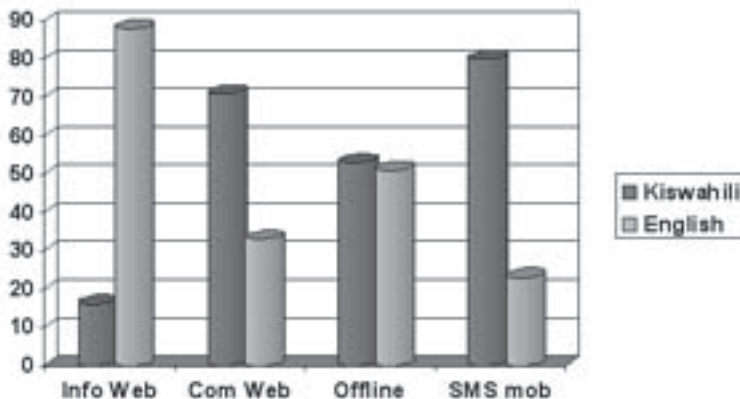
The results from the questionnaire in Figure 3 display the outcome on the question addressed to the whole sample of respondents: In what activities do you use Kiswahili the most?

Figure 3
Language use in ICT activities

Activity	Dominating language		Total no. respondents
	Kiswahili	English	
Web search			
Literature	24	80	104
Information	52	52	104
Communication			
E-mail	56	48	104
Chat	34	70	104
Offline			
Typewriting word-processing	53	51	104
Presentation (PowerPoint)	20	84	104
Mobile phone SMS messages	72	31	103 (1 other)

The table undoubtedly demonstrates that English is *not* the only language in the ICT arena! The respondents use Kiswahili as an ICT language as well as English.

Figure 4
Language use in ICT activities University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 2008–2009



Info web: Information search on web **Offline:** Word-processing, spread sheet, presentation
Com web: Communication on web **SMS mob:** writing messages through cell phones

Figure 4 illustrates that Kiswahili can be a linguistic tool when using ICT. The staff and students at the UDSM do use Kiswahili as an ICT language.

Kiswahili as an ICT language

The interviewees were posed the question: Can Kiswahili be the ICT language? In the following, a collection of representative responses are quoted:

- Yes absolutely. An example is learning platforms, like *Black Board*, *Fronter* and *E-learning*. It gives you the possibility for one-to-one communication in Kiswahili. – Lecturer, FIVE.
- People at the AVU (African Virtual University) are pioneers in teaching management through learning platforms. We can communicate through distant learning in Kiswahili. – Lecturer, FIVE.

Staff and students at the FIVE generally gave positive comments and examples from their practices. The following are direct quotes:

- All the Tanzanian students communicate in Kiswahili and after class they will ask in Kiswahili. They also prefer Kiswahili to be the LoI. If you tell students to communicate by using technology, they will prefer to use their own language. Even if they will share materials from the Internet, it will be in their language. – Lecturer
- If you have a class, and you give them the option whether they would communicate in using Kiswahili or in English, the majority would prefer communicating in Kiswahili because in Kiswahili they connect more to the text than in English. – Lecturer
- We have a virtual classroom whereby I can pose some questions and the students may discuss on their own in this virtual discussion room. The language in these discussions is always in Kiswahili. Communicating with the lecturer is a supplement to normal student learning here on campus. The language in this communication is always Kiswahili. – Lecturer

- At the AVU, the online lectures are in English, we have some international students, but the Tanzanian students ask us to clarify in Kiswahili. They also prefer using Kiswahili in ordinary class. – Lecturer
- I work with Kiswahili in my computer project. I look at the language. For me it is the technical part but also a linguistic part with translation. I intend to create Kiswahili software. By now I cooperate with the Kiswahili Department.
– Masters student / Technician
- I think Kiswahili will be more suitable in terms of whatever programmes, in terms of whatever is found at the Internet.
– Masters student / Technician

Staff and students at the Kiswahili Department and the Institute of Kiswahili Research had a more ambivalent and unenthusiastic position towards the issue.

- I don't think Kiswahili is suitable to be used on the Internet. Nobody would understand. – Masters student
- When you use Kiswahili in connection with new technology it sounds awkward. But it should be nice if we could. – Masters student
- Of course we want Kiswahili to grow, Kiswahili is our profession. But I am afraid that English will continue to be the language to overrule Kiswahili. New technology will increase the unbalanced position between these languages. I'm sorry to say that, but we have no power and I'm pessimistic for the future of my language. – Lecturer
- English is the language of modernisation, globalisation and new technology. I love Kiswahili - that's my language. But the reality is that English is the language in Tanzania which gives you the status. With only Kiswahili, I'm nothing. – Masters student

It was an unexpected finding when I gradually realised that the ICT-orientated respondents at the FIVE who were anticipated to be pro-English showed more enthusiasm and engagement towards Kiswahili as an ICT language than the anticipated pro-Kiswahili respondents. Staff and students at FIVE were more optimistic, hopeful and confident towards Kiswahili, seeing future possibilities, while their colleagues at the Kiswahili Department showed a more reluctant and hesitant position towards Kiswahili as an ICT language. Reflecting on these findings, I came to the explanation that the pessimism has developed from a lack of knowledge of ICT itself. The staff and students at the Kiswahili Department participating in my research were only partly acquainted with far-reaching ICT devices and the potential of new technology.

Kiswahili in critical thinking, creative production and reflexivity

The concept digital literacy implies critical thinking, creative production and reflexivity in the context of ICT (Halvorsen, 2008, 2009). The European Commission describes digital literacy as

awareness, attitude and ability to identify, integrate, evaluate, analyse and create digital resources, construct new knowledge, create media expressions, and communicate with others in the context of specific life situations, in order to enable constructive social action; and to reflect upon this process. (DigEuLit 2006)⁴

ICT can be a medium shaped to benefit the user's own interests. The prerequisite for being digitally literate in a reflective sense is the users' own activity, active participation and critical outlook.

In my research, the interviewees were asked which language was preferable when performing the activities of critical thinking, creative production and reflexivity. Some responses are reported below:

- For me: wake me anytime, stroke me anywhere ask me that question, I will always tell you the only language for a Tanzanian will be Kiswahili. For accessing, analysing, selecting, passing knowledge from one person to another,

⁴ DigEuLit project European Commission. http://www.elearningeuropa.info/directory/index.php?page=doc&doc_id=6007&doclng=6 (Accessed 8 June 2009).

in a Tanzanian context, the easiest language to use will be Kiswahili. – Lecturer / PhD student, Faculty of Education

- The new technologies have to be accessed in, if used by Tanzanians, in Kiswahili, because otherwise if you bring the technology using another language, it means your target population is not going to be more than 600 000 people in Tanzania. This is the reality. – Lecturer / PhD student, Faculty of Education

Through my research project I have learnt that ICT devices and programmes in Kiswahili do indeed exist and are continually being developed. This opens possibilities for using digital media without requiring proficiency in English. ICT might be a valuable tool able to vitalise Kiswahili through Internet and offline practices. Being creative in a familiar language is likely to be more productive than in a foreign language. And doing a significant piece of thinking would expectedly be more fruitful when being able to choose a familiar language. Here are a couple of quotes:

- I'm planning to create a mobile based kind of a dictionary so you can be able to translate English words into Kiswahili by using students' texts. – Lecturer, College of Engineering
- I plan to construct a tool in Kiswahili by which to improve the use of technology. – Lecturer, FIVE

The majority of staff and students were unfamiliar with most ICT tools available in Kiswahili. They were using Kiswahili through English tools, like Microsoft Office, even though the tools were available in Kiswahili.

A wide range of Kiswahili software has been developed. Word-processing, spread sheets, presentation and publishing tools. Microsoft Office has Excel, Word and PowerPoint in Kiswahili. Linux has operating systems Klinux; and there are Kiswahili versions of Open Office, Jambo, Mozilla Firefox and further Umoja, Ubuntu. There are free downloadable dictionaries on the Internet.

Most staff and students at the UDSM were not aware of the Microsoft Office Language Interface Package (LIP) 2003 in Kiswahili. LIP includes the Kiswahili version of Excel, Word and PowerPoint

and was developed in cooperation with the UDSM, Kiswahili Department and Institute of Kiswahili Research. The software was launched in 2005 and is freeware downloadable from the Internet. I introduced the LIP device to people on the campus and they were surprised by its existence.

The Jambo OpenOffice in Kiswahili was also released at the UDSM in 2005. The office suite was translated from the English version of OpenOffice. The project is called Kilinux and its objective

is not only to localize free and open source software to the Swahili language, but also create awareness among Kiswahili speakers of the benefits of using and extending open source software.⁵

The Swedish International development Agency (SIDA) supports the project in collaboration with the University of Dar es Salaam.⁶

When asking staff and students about the LIP and Kilinux, only a few had heard about the software and even fewer were using it. Each and every one with a slight familiarity with computers can download the Language Interface Package in Kiswahili from the Internet.⁷

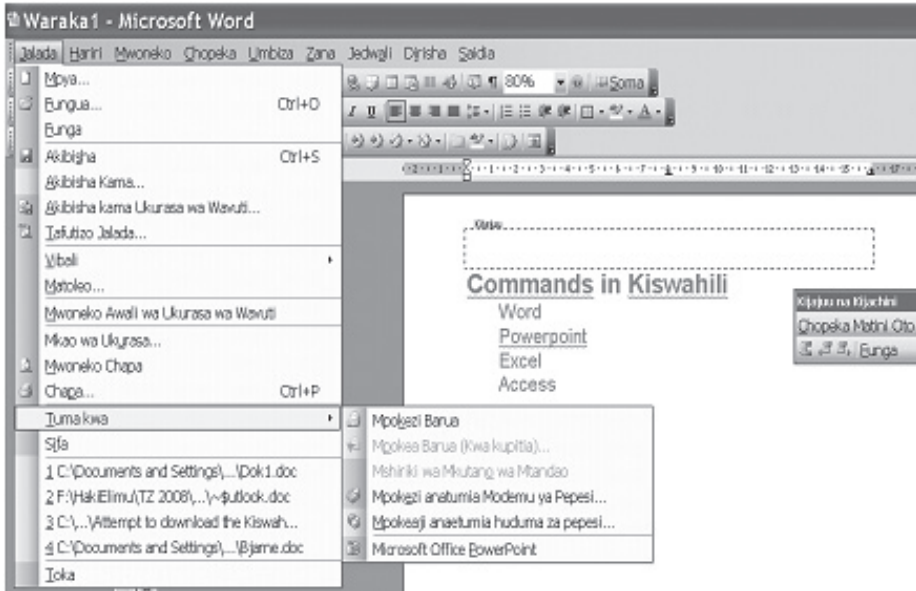
I would like to share with you one episode on campus when I introduced the LIP to one of the staff members. The event illustrates many staff and students' attitude towards Kiswahili as an ICT language. A technician from the UDSM ICT support team who assisted me in accessing the Internet, wanted to know more about the Kiswahili devices. I showed him the LIP and the word-processing programme in Kiswahili (Figure 5).

5 <http://www.kilinux.udsm.ac.tz/> (Accessed 26 June 2009).

6 <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/Internet/27220> (Accessed 26 June 2009).

7 <http://www.microsoft.com/downloads/details.aspx?FamilyId=CCF199BC-C987-48F5-9707-DC6C7D0E35D0&displaylang=sw> (Accessed 26 June 2009).

Figure 5

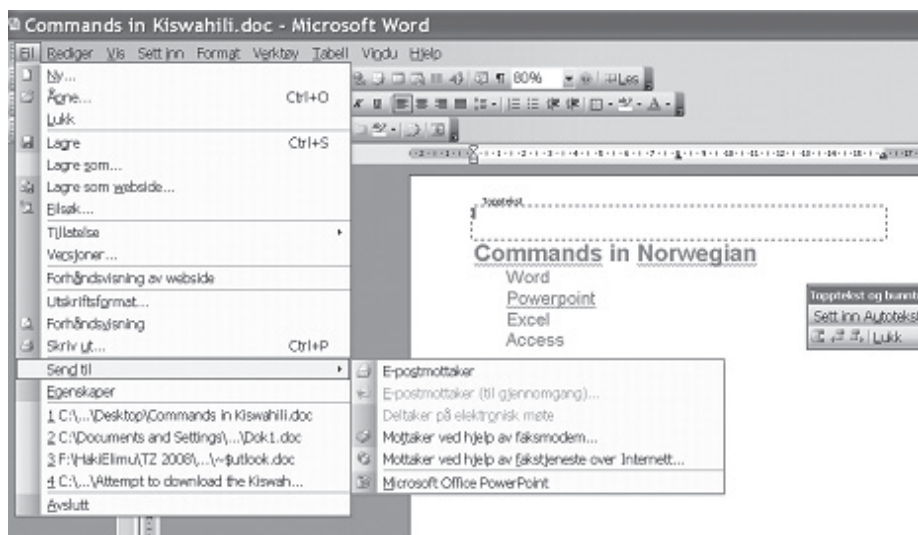


Like others I had introduced the programme to, he got very engaged and enthusiastic and started to examine the programme. At first, his expression was very content and joyful. He was laughing while recognising the words, reading and repeating the concepts and commands in Kiswahili. After a while he withdrew and he looked embarrassed: “No, I don’t think Kiswahili can be the ICT language, it looks awkward and strange. English is the better and the only ICT language.”

After this distressing statement, I displayed the Norwegian version of MS Word 2003 (Figure 6). He compared the Norwegian version on my laptop, the Kiswahili version on the stationary PC and the English version on his own laptop.

He had never seen any computer language other than English. This was an eye-opener to him. If Norwegian with 4.5 million speakers could be the ICT language, why not the far more widely spoken Kiswahili as ICT language? He had to reconsider his attitude. He also found it difficult to believe that Norwegian higher education was conducted in Norwegian and not in English. This story represents the dominating misconception of staff and students on LoI and ICT language.

Figure 6



When examining the Kiswahili commands in the software, some of the concepts are unfamiliar and not understandable to a new learner. As in any language, the concepts are ICT-related only and are not connected to real life. The commands are just connected to the software and computers. The phrases download, auto format and drop down menu for instance have no meaning in real life and have to be understood as new terms in a new setting. ICT has its own technical vocabulary which has to be learnt in any language. It is like any technical vocabulary which only will be learnt through practice. Norway, like many other countries, has ICT dictionaries explaining the ICT concepts and what they stand for. At the UDSM there is ongoing cooperation between the Faculty of Informatics and Virtual Education and the Institute of Kiswahili Research in developing ICT dictionaries in Kiswahili.

Respondents read and write more Kiswahili

The last tentative finding I want to shed light on is the frequency of the respondents' use of Kiswahili in reading and writing. Thus far, the research results show that approximately 50% of the respondents read and write more Kiswahili now than before they started to use computers and Internet.

The research indicates that the majority of staff and students read and write Kiswahili when communicating through new technology (as in real life), while there is a more nuanced picture when it comes to Kiswahili web search and online or offline use. Respondents who read more Kiswahili refer to altogether 32 websites in Kiswahili. The ten most frequently used are listed below (accessed 26 June 2009):

- An Nuur <http://www.iosphere.net/~kassim/an-nuur/index.html>
- Bingwa <http://www.newhabari.com/bingwa/index.php>
- Daima <http://www.freemedia.co.tz/>
- Habari Leo <http://www.habarileo.co.tz/>
- Ippmedia <http://www.ippmedia.com/>
- Majira <http://www.majira.co.tz/>
- Mwananchi <http://www.mwananchi.co.tz/>
- Mwanaspoti <http://www.mwanaspoti.co.tz/>
- Mtanzania <http://www.newhabari.com/mtanzania/>
- Rai <http://www.newhabari.com/rai/index.php>

Many staff and students see the possibility that Kiswahili can be vitalised through the Kiswahili new technology devices. The young, creative people at the FIVE were especially optimistic about future opportunities for using Kiswahili. Nevertheless, a more reluctant attitude prevailed on the campus as a whole, represented by the quotation below:

Even if you create all tools in Kiswahili, all programmes in Kiswahili, all the applications in Kiswahili, the attitude will not change due to the fact that the educational system prefers English as the superior language. As long as English is the language of instruction in higher education in Tanzania, Kiswahili will always be inferior. The powerful language is the language students are taught in, the other one will be a supplement. This is the political will of Tanzania.

ICT alone can not make the change.

Conclusion

The notion of English being the only ICT language possible is as widespread as the misconception that only English can be the language of instruction of higher education in Tanzania.

Nevertheless, during my survey among staff and students at the UDSM, I learnt that a large number of respondents use Kiswahili as the ICT language in most of their communication through computers, as e-mails, chat, other forms of collaboration and cell phones. Many of the lecturers and students read and write more Kiswahili now than before they started using the Internet. Websites in Kiswahili have been escalating in recent years; newspapers, dictionaries and freeware are downloadable from the Internet.

Software and ICT-devices in Kiswahili are increasing. Several ICT projects are active at the UDSM and there is ongoing collaboration between the Institute of Kiswahili Research, Department of Kiswahili and the Department of Computer Science in creating ICT content and software in Kiswahili. A tentative review of the research indicates that UDSM staff and students with more ICT experience show enthusiasm towards, and are active in, using Kiswahili ICT devices. They also tend to use Kiswahili as ICT language more than students with less ICT experience.

If these assumptions are signs of future trends, indicating that increased use of ICT in a Tanzanian context can lead to increased use of Kiswahili, it gives a new dimension and reignites the debate. ICT tools in Kiswahili are available to staff and students, but as long as English is the LoI, many are reluctant to make Kiswahili their ICT language. It is difficult to understand the reason for keeping English as the LoI in higher education in Tanzania when research and reports repeatedly uncover the student's increasing learning problems related to the use of English as the language of instruction. Assuming the university leaders possess knowledge of their own reports, they will know that teaching philosophy, biology or management in insufficient English, will *neither* bring understanding of philosophy, biology, management nor proficiency in English.

All in all, the language situation in higher education has led to a decrease in educational quality, depriving Tanzanian students of the knowledge they are entitled to. An opportune question to ask is: Who will profit by keeping Kiswahili inferior to English? Is there

an English speaking elite protecting its privileges, preserving the gap between rich and poor in Tanzania, or is there just an inability to act? Whichever reason, the consequences are unsatisfactory from an educational point of view.

What is needed to bring on change to improve the language situation in higher education in Tanzania? The arguments for keeping English as the LoI are shrinking, including, as my research shows, the one on ICT.

It is argued that former colonial languages are dominating the Internet, which is true, but that does not and should not prevent other languages from playing a part in using and developing ICT. There is no monopoly on the world wide web and each and everyone, if competent, can take part in the expansion in whichever language they prefer. ICT has the potential of transforming and expanding the use of Kiswahili and it is likely that in time, ICT can vitalise African languages. My research demonstrates that a growing number of Kiswahili ICT users join in active participation and contribute to knowledge creation themselves. Let them be encouraged to use their own language and not discouraged as if this is a battle between "David and Goliath". It isn't. There is potential here for spreading African languages as written languages through the new information and communication technology.

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The prospects for and possible implications of teaching African philosophy in Kiswahili in East Africa: A Tanzanian perspective

Birgit Brock-Utne and Azaveli Lwaitama

Introduction

In commemorating the UNESCO World Philosophy Day for the year 2009 on 19 November 2009, the Philosophy Unit at the University of Dar es Salaam, in collaboration with the MoRes – Research project funded by the Academy of Finland and the Resident Director of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in Tanzania – invited a score of academics involved in the teaching of philosophy drawn from universities in East Africa to share their experiences in organising the teaching of some aspects of philosophy with fellow academicians drawn from universities in Western countries including the Nordic ones like Finland and Norway. In this chapter, prepared to be delivered at the above-mentioned conference, the authors draw on their experiences in teaching aspects of philosophy in education in Tanzania to share with the reader their conceptions of what they consider to be the kind of African Philosophy that ought to guide the provision of Education For All in East Africa. The authors wish to set the record straight by declaring, at the onset, their affiliation to the stance that quality education for all in

Tanzania can only be offered where Kiswahili is adopted as the most viable indigenous African medium of instruction throughout the entire education system. Education can only be for the benefit of all when it is built on indigenous forms of knowledge and scientific endeavours (Lwaitama, 2004) for the purpose of enhancing indigenous capabilities, including boosting self confidence and belief in oneself. The chapter then goes on to explore the meaning of African Philosophy and how best such a philosophy can be taught in East African institutions of higher learning, including, eventually, through the medium of Kiswahili. The experiences of introducing elements of the teaching of Philosophy through the medium of Kiswahili at the then Makumira Lutheran Seminary in Northern Tanzania and at Salvatorian Catholic Seminary in Morogoro are discussed as cases in point. In conclusion, East African Universities, together with universities in countries like Finland, Sweden and Norway which have often supported them in their efforts to indigenous intellectual discourse, are urged to redouble their efforts in studying indigenous systems and remnant artefacts of wisdom, of the kind, for instance, that the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (1968) drew upon in articulating the concept of Ujamaa, the essence of African socialism or ubuntu.

What is African philosophy?

In a symposium in honour of William Ano (an African philosopher who taught in Germany in the eighteenth century), the African philosopher Oruka (1978) gave a paper in which he distinguished between four different meanings that can be given to the expression African philosophy. Augustine Shuttle (1993) uses the same distinction in his book *Philosophy for Africa*. These four different meanings are:

1. **Ethno-philosophy.** This term, coined by Kwame Nkrumah, describes a world-view or system of thought of a particular African community or language group or even of the whole of Africa. According to Shuttle (1993: 15) ethno-philosophy only acquires systematic written formulation in the works of modern writers like Senghor and Temple who combine the knowledge of African traditional thought and European philosophical education in their work.

2. **Individual wisdom.** This is the wisdom of wise persons in traditional culture who are critical independent thinkers. These wise persons let their thought and judgements be guided by the power of reason and inborn insights rather than by the authority of the communal consensus.
3. **Nationalist-ideological philosophy.** This refers to attempts by political theorists such as Nyerere (1968) and Kaunda, to produce a new and, if possible, unique political theory based on traditional African socialism, humanism and familyhood.
4. **Professional philosophy.** This is the work of academics educated in Western philosophy but who belong to African universities and are in intellectual contact with each other. According to Shuttle, such an African philosophical tradition is only just beginning.

Approaches to the teaching of Philosophy through the medium of Kiswahili

A close survey of the experience of the teaching of some elements of ethno-philosophy and professional philosophy at the then Makumira Lutheran Seminary in Northern Tanzania, which is now Makumira University College and one of the constituent colleges of Tumaini University, and at Salvatorian Catholic Seminary in Morogoro seems to suggest that, given the unique sociolinguistic context within which philosophy has had to be taught in Tanzania's tertiary education sector, the teaching of Philosophy through Kiswahili is likely to accelerate the development of conceptions of African Philosophy that draw more on the wealth of indigenous knowledge on ethical questions and how they may be better handled in the promotion of peace and prosperity for all. The two attempts have facilitated the development of Kiswahili vocabulary in the field of philosophy. Such complex philosophical terms as dialectical materialism, historical materialism, dualism and monism, have been rendered into novel Kiswahili terms. In these Kiswahili renderings, terms such as dialectics, for example, have been translated into *umoja kinzani*, which in English would translate neatly into the unity of opposites. This has in turn influenced the coining of Kiswahili terms such as *tafakuri tunduizi* to refer to the term "critical thinking" , which is

popularly used in the mass media and in academia.

The publications that have resulted from the use of Kiswahili in teaching philosophy at this higher education level have provided an indication as to the benefits that would accrue from this endeavour. Testimony from academic staff at the two seminaries suggests that the most important of these benefits would seem to be that comprehension of the most important concepts by the majority of the learners seemed to be enhanced by the use of Kiswahili. Participation in serious discussions of these concepts by all the learners was reported to be markedly high. Nuances in meaning are able to be demonstrated by drawing on commonly accessible Kiswahili folklore.

Two different approaches to the study of African philosophy

Building on the four different meanings mentioned above, Augustine Shuttle (1993) distinguishes between two different approaches to the study of African philosophy.

- If philosophy is defined by its method – rigorous, analytical, critical – then professional philosophy in universities becomes the centre of interest. This understanding of philosophy sees philosophy as inextricably bound up with science.
- If philosophy is defined by its content – theories of the nature of the universe, of the mind, of death, as well as theories of society and morality – then traditional African thought has a great deal to offer that is of philosophical interest. The group of writers concerned with the actual doctrines contained in traditional African thought rely heavily on the work of anthropologists and linguists as well as oral tradition, stories, myths and proverbs. This approach to the study of African philosophy necessitates a deep knowledge of the relevant African languages. In Tanzania teachers using this approach for the teaching of philosophy will be closer to traditional African thought if they teach in Kiswahili, also giving examples from other Tanzanian languages, than if they teach in English.

Ishengoma (1988), himself a Mhaya, wrote an interesting term paper for a master's course in social psychology titled: Riddles as an Agent of Socialization and Social Learning among the Haya Children. Having collected a vast amount of riddles still in use in Bukoba, Ishengoma analysed the riddles in relation to their educational value. He found that they could be meaningfully divided into the following categories:

- Riddles that instruct children to compare, contrast and distinguish objects
- Riddles that promote mastery of Luhaya and proper communication skills
- Riddles that teach cultural norms
- Riddles that are instructive about work, agriculture, and animal husbandry
- New riddles

Through his many examples, Ishengoma demonstrates what a useful tool riddles must have been, and partly still are, in the education of the young. Through the riddling activity, children are taught African world-views, cultural norms and accepted ways of behavior. Ishengoma argues against Western social anthropologists such as Finnegan (1970), who looked at riddles as a form of entertainment and amusement for children. Ishengoma tells that Bahaya children, both boys and girls, are normally told riddles by their mothers or grandmothers. Ishengoma (1988) found in his study that children coming from families where riddling was still a normal practice had a better developed vocabulary in Luhaya (Kihaya) and were more sensitised to the cultural norms of the Bahaya than children in families where the art of riddling had been ignored or abandoned, for example, in devout Christian families.

He claims that in many Christian families the practice of riddling is looked at as heathen.

There is a great need for studies of this kind, both the recording of educational practices like riddling activity still going on and the re-analysis of the history of indigenous education in Africa (Brock-Utne, 2000). Works by Western missionaries, travellers, or social anthropologists can be used with caution; they are often biased

and need to be reinterpreted. For instance, the European travelers whose reports are summarised by Theal (1910) have, according to Ocitti (1991), a tendency to view indigenous African education as a phenomenon which was confined to the puberty years and achieved mainly through the rites of circumcision. Ocitti mentions that one finds a lot of parochialism and prejudice toward Africans and their traditional systems of education in some of the writers from outside Africa. A lot of the information they have gathered seems to have been gathered more out of curiosity than out of any intention of using it as a point of departure for the construction of school curricula or understanding of the world views of the indigenous knowledge systems.

Lugoe (1989) relates that among the Wajita in Mara region in Tanzania, the riddling activity ceases to be an activity in which all children participate from the child's fifth year. After the child is five, boys and girls form different riddling groups. The Jita boy is taught his role at the evening assembly commonly called echoto (in Kijita). Each home prepares a cow dung fire whereby the males, both elders and youth, gather while the females are busy preparing the evening meal. At this gathering, stories, riddles and narrations of events of interest to the growth of the boys are related. Most of the teachings are done by the grandfathers as it is assumed that they have an accumulation of knowledge about the tribe. Also, the grandfathers can, according to Lugoe, say anything without hesitation or shyness.

Gyekye (1987: 211) an African philosopher belonging to this tradition, defines African philosophy in this way: "A philosophical discourse that critically interacts or communes with African cultural and intellectual experiences, with African mentalities and traditions will be African."

African philosophy critically interacting with African cultural experiences

Lancy (1996) points to sensitive and open-minded research by ecological anthropologists in recent years which has shown that the kind of subsistence practices followed by slash-and-burn horticulturalists, such as the Kpelle people in Liberia, far from being inefficient, are wonderfully adapted to the local ecology. He

sees Western aid, whether in the area of agriculture or schooling, as something which destroys the original culture and sets the Kpelle society on to the *Kwii* way. *Kwii* in the Kpelle language is a general term that refers to Westerners and Liberians who dress and talk like Westerners, live in towns, participate in the cash economy, and so on.

In order to avoid African societies going further on the *Kwii* way, African universities need to pursue research based on local experience in collaboration with the people of Africa¹. What is most needed now is for African researchers to be able to develop academic fields from African roots.

Archie Mafeje (1992), writing on the indigenisation of intellectual discourse in Africa, reminds African intellectuals of the guiding principle in Socratic thought: "Know thyself." Looking at African philosophical thought, he finds grounds for a new reconstruction and self-realisation. He sees that unwritten accounts, transmitted in stories, legends, riddles, myths, and so on, reflect African philosophical thought in various ways and are sources of high significance and authenticity. These accounts are delivered in African languages.

In an article on the teaching of philosophy in African universities, Kwasi Wiredu (1984: 31-32) laments:

An African may learn philosophy in a Western institution of higher learning abroad or at home and become extremely adroit in philosophical disputation; he may even be able to make original contributions in some branch of philosophy. The fact remains that he would be engaged in Western, not African philosophy. Surprisingly, many Africans accept this; they have even seemed to take it as a matter of course. [...] The usual practice seems to reserve all references to African conceptions to classes on African philosophy. As far as the main branches of philosophy are concerned, African philosophical ideas might just as well be non-existent. This trend, I suggest, ought to be reversed.

1 In her book, *Whose Education for All? Recolonizing the African Mind*, Brock-Utne (2000) shows that in the fields of African languages, culture, and dances, physical education, philosophy, law and environmental studies, Africa has a lot to offer.

Wiredu makes himself a spokesperson for the strategy of “counterpenetration”. This strategy is meant to impress upon the world that it has something to learn from Africa, that in the global culture which is evolving, the West does well to listen to Africa.² It is a strategy mentioned by Ali Mazrui (1978: 350), who raises the question about whether African universities that have been so permeated by Western culture can in turn affect Western thoughts and values. He thinks this is possible and outlines his strategies of domestication, diversification and counterpenetration (Mazrui, 1978, 1996). The balance of cultural trade between the North and the South has to be restored. The strategy will not work, however, unless Africa builds on its own foundation and stops mimicking the West.³

We agree with Wiredu and Mazrui that African researchers need to develop academic fields from African roots. The West can help by showing interest in the endeavour, giving economic support, and no longer sending so-called “experts” who come to teach and not to learn, who have the audacity to impose Western culture on a defenceless continent that is lost and needs to return to a familiar point – its own roots – before rushing on.

The philosophy of *ubuntu*

African cultures are repositories of a substantial body of knowledge on how to promote peace and maintain harmonious communities. It is paradoxical then, that the continent continues to be afflicted by significant levels of violence. However, it also indicates that there is a need to transmit the knowledge which can be drawn from African cultures of peace to the present and future generation of Africans. In an article on the importance in educating for peace, Tim Murithi (2009) describes the African philosophy known as *ubuntu*. This cultural world view highlights the essential unity of humanity and emphasises the importance of constantly referring

2 There is much the West could learn from the black people of Africa about leading a good and harmonious life, taking care of each other, of family, neighbours, friends and the beloved dead ones, and being one with nature and the spiritual world.

3 Mahatma Gandhi gave the same advice to women, in whom he had much greater faith than in men, when it came to creating peace in this world. This is what he said about a woman behaving like a man: “She can run the race but she will not rise to the heights she is capable of by mimicking men” (Gandhi, 1940).

to the principles of empathy, sharing and cooperation in our efforts to resolve our common problems. In terms of its definition, *ubuntu* is very difficult to render into a Western language. It speaks to the very essence of being human. When you want to give high praise to someone one may say: “*Yu, u nobuntu*”; He or she has *ubuntu*. This means that they are generous, hospitable, friendly, caring and compassionate. They share what they have. *Ubuntu* means that “a person is a person through other people” (in isiXhosa *Ubuntu ungamntu ngabanye abantu* and in isiZulu *Umntu ngumuntu ngabanye*). I am human because I belong, I participate, I share. A person with *ubuntu* is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes with knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole. A person with *ubuntu* feels and is diminished when others are humiliated, when other people are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are. The social philosophy inherent in the concept of *ubuntu*, the thinking that “a person is a person through other people” or “I am because we are” can in many ways be contrasted with the western individualistic philosophy expressed in the words: “I think, therefore I am.”

As Chairman of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Desmond Tutu (1999), in his book *No Future Without Forgiveness*, repeatedly refers to the notion of *ubuntu* which to him was a guiding philosophy he used when he was guiding and advising witnesses, victims and perpetrators alike, during the Commission hearings.

Ubuntu societies developed mechanisms for resolving disputes and promoting reconciliation with a view to healing past wrongs and maintaining social cohesion and harmony. Consensus- building was embraced as a cultural pillar with respect to the regulation and management of relationships between members of the community (Prinsloo, 1998). Depending on the nature of the disagreement or dispute, the conflict resolution process could take place at the level of the family, at the village level, between members of an ethnic group, or even between different ethnic nations situated in the same region.

Murithi outlines the five stages of the peacemaking process found among *ubuntu* societies including:

- acknowledgement of guilt,
- showing remorse and repenting,
- asking for and giving forgiveness,
- paying compensation or reparation as a prelude to reconciliation.

Tutu himself would always advise victims – if they felt themselves able to do so – to forgive. His guiding principle was that without forgiveness there could really be no future for the new Republic, which echoes some of the wisdom of the *ubuntu* approaches to reconciliation (Tutu, 1999).

Potential lessons for educating for peace and reconciliation are highlighted with the premise that the *ubuntu* approach to human relationship building can offer an example to the world.

Susan Colin Marks (2000), a South African conflict resolution practitioner, hopes that we can draw from lessons of “*ubuntu* forms of peacemaking”, and with the recognition of our essential unity, work toward “*ubuntu* forms of governance” with public participation of all citizens in matters relating to their societies and governments, the protection of human rights as well as the adoption of transparent and accountable leadership. This recognition of our essential unity can also give us the inspiration to gradually construct “*ubuntu* economies” which emphasise equal access to opportunity through fair trade and wealth distribution, with the ultimate goal of designing global institutions and mechanisms which will encourage the sharing of the earth’s resources for the benefit of us all. Murithi (2009) claims that this ideal goal cannot be achieved unless policy-makers, education officers, teachers, practitioners, peace activists and youth workers take on the challenge of educating for peace and reconciliation by drawing upon the principles of *ubuntu*.

Reconciliatory philosophical conceptions of justice administration

Manifestations of the mismatch between Western philosophical conceptions of justice administration and traditional African

conceptions has recently been commented upon in a study by van Grieken (2008) of how the use of English in recording court judgments, together with the adoption of Western conceptions of justice, may potentially result in miscarriages of justice. It is pointed out in that study that although “exactly what kind of legal framework existed in pre-colonial times is hard to say”, there are remnants of such a system that still prevail, especially at village level (Demian, 2003; Mchome, 2002; Richland, 2005). The study quotes a senior University of Dar es Salaam legal expert observing that:

before colonialism, Africans had been using their customary norms which knew no courts, police or prisons. Under customary law, disputes were settled amicably and in most cases by way of compensation. No strict distinction was made between wrongs which were civil and those which were criminal in nature. The process of establishing whether a wrong had been committed took an inquisitorial approach and reconciliation was the ultimate goal. (Mchome, 2002: 52)

In the study by Van Grieken (2008) it is observed that, viewed from the perspective of residents of an African village who did not have prisons into which to put those found guilty of crimes and whose philosophy of law focus was on establishing consensus and village harmony rather than promoting competition and conquest by members of the village community over fellow members, even where some were seen as wrong doers, justice administration placed a high premium on ensuring that “people were going to be neighbours even after the case had been concluded”. Furthermore, such a philosophy prompted one to consider it “far more important to maintain ‘some degree of social harmony to counter a level of disunity’” (Demian, 2003: 109) than merely viewing closure for the victims of a crime to be expressed through the infliction of mental or physical pain on the guilty party. The non-Westernised participants in the court cases that Van Grieken investigated seemed to take the view that the major aim of justice administration consisted in “trying to reintegrate the alleged criminal into the village, through whatever conciliatory tools were available to the (customary village) court”.

What Van Grieken's study goes on to characterise as the prevailing metaphor that underlies common law practice is the metaphor of war in which the courtroom is a battleground as a sharp contrast to the underlying reconciliatory essence of traditional African philosophical conceptions of law practices. It should be stressed here that these practices took place in African languages. Haroub Othman (2009: 291), in an article on the language of the law in Tanzania, stresses the fact that the government (wo)men who draft the Bills know Kiswahili, the Parliamentarians who discuss the Bills in Kiswahili and the people whom those Bills once enacted will know Kiswahili. He asks the question: "Why then are the Bills written in English?" He notes that the public impression is that most members of Parliament do not read the Bills. All they depend on are the resumes that are provided by the Ministers when presenting Bills in Parliament. No wonder then that sometimes Parliamentarians, when they come face to face with the effects of the legislation that they passed, get surprised that they passed such laws! Othman rightly observes that this does not augur well for the development of a democratic culture in the country.

University students of law ought to be introduced to African philosophical conceptions such as those of *ubuntu* as a basis for developing critical reflective civic skills (Lwaitama and Hellsten, 2004) to guide them in dealing with issues of interpreting the ethical basis of arguments that they may hear in cross-examination, especially of villagers who are exposed to Western notions of what is right and wrong in matters of property ownership and fairness in human relations at work places and in the homes. It should not be enough for these students, in their course on legal theory and jurisprudence, to be content with being familiar with Greek terms such as *mens rea* and Greek conceptions of what is fair and just. These students should be assisted to critically review folklore songs and narratives containing lexicon that contained metaphors on what traditional African groits considered to be a humane way of dealing with fellow human beings as well as other creatures. Those who were considered evil-minded, were persons, with what in Kihaya is called *orwango* who wished to attain wealth, *obutungi* or *obugaiga* in Kihaya, and thus escape poverty, *obworo* or *obunaku* by foul deeds, i.e. *orwango*. Sensitisation of students of law as to the legal

implications of the use of the English language in legal practice in Tanzania ought to begin with offering courses in critical language awareness based on critical discourse analysis, studies such as those by Van Grieken (2008) and Van Grieken and Lwaitama (2009).

Baltazar Rwezaura (1985), who teaches law at the University of Dar es Salaam, has written a most fascinating study of the clashes between traditional law and codified law in Tanzania and the world-view and philosophy behind the two rather different legal systems. He describes the Kuria social system and the philosophy and traditional law it entails. He writes about marital disputes over property rights, regulation of bridewealth and judicial allocation of matrimonial assets. The *makamona* (woman-to-woman) marriages are explained through their economic and social significance and the legal problems they represent when met by codified law built on Christian principles are described. This is done by someone who has studied these systems through first-hand knowledge of them. It is sad to see that a book of such high importance for legal studies in Tanzania especially, but also in Africa generally, is published abroad and impossible to buy in Tanzania.

The philosophy of *orwango* and *obutungi* or *obugaiga*

Critical Language Awareness sensitisation for students of law could include in-depth familiarisation with lexicon in indigenous African languages, including Kiswahili, used to refer, as pointed out earlier, to what was considered to be an ill-intention, *orwango* in Kihaya, or *unyama* in Kiswahili, in a human being's behaviour towards a fellow human being. Discriminating against someone on the basis of the place of birth or colour of the person's skin was characterised by the late Mwalimu Nyerere (1995) in his famous and often quoted 1995 speech as akin to being a cannibal: "*ni kama kula nyama ya mtu*" [it is like eating human flesh]. Mwalimu Nyerere went to assert that once one ate human flesh one could never stop. This would seem to be a strong endorsement of the view that elements of African philosophy could be drawn upon in making a case for robust measures being taken against discrimination on the basis of chance accidents of birth such as race, class, age, and sexual orientation.

It is noted that a critical discourse analysis of poverty discourse in indigenous African languages such as Kihaya and Kiswahili suggests

that conceptions of poverty (*obworo* in Kihaya; *umaskini* or *ufukara* in Kiswahili) and wealth (*obutungi* or *obugaiga* in Kihaya; *utajiri* in Kiswahili) have embedded in them the notion that a poor person is still a person (*omuntu*; *mtu*) in spite of being poor. He or she loses her dignity as a person only if his or her poverty is perceived to have been occasioned by his or her own laziness (*obunafu* in Kihaya or *obufela* or *obulolwa*) or lack of intelligence (*ulofa* in Kiswahili). To be wealthy is often associated with occupying a privileged position in some respect, such as being a leader (*omukama* in Kihaya). It is interesting to note that the term for *omukama* (chief) can be analysed into *omu* [one who] *kama* [milks, as of a cow]. If one possesses a cow that one milks over and above one's farm, which everyone in one's neighbourhood also possesses, then one is considered *omukama*. Indeed, a person is considered a *mutungi* by virtue of having what is called *ebitunganwa*, which means "herd of cattle". To be what is called *omwami* [a chief] or a leader on a higher level who is called *omukama* [a king], is to have some extra possessions over and above the possessions that every human being possesses. To be a chief does not bestow on one extra human quality. A critical discourse analysis of discourses on poverty in Kihaya informal conversations will show, for example, that the kind of bananas one eats, whether *ekitoke* [banana meant for cooked food] or *embile* [banana meant to be used for beer brewing], or *obunana* [banana meant to be eaten raw when ripe], is one of the indicators of whether one is considered poor or wealthy (Lwaitama, 2004).

Conclusion

The demographic profile of most countries in East Africa, just like that of Tanzania, is eschewed, with most Tanzanians falling within the age range of 0 to 25 years. The majority of this population will never see the inside of a university classroom. Nevertheless, what the few Tanzanians who study at tertiary level get exposed to in terms of philosophical knowledge is likely to influence how Tanzanian society is organised in the fields of education, law, health, politics and the economy as whole both in the near and distant future. What kind of philosophical ideas and tools of analysis those who study at tertiary education levels are exposed to needs to be of interest to all who subscribe to the humanistic goal of assisting countries in East

Africa, and in Tanzania in particular, achieving education for all to the benefit of all.

The teaching of philosophy in East African universities ought to be organised on the basis of a conception of African philosophy that seeks to contribute to “the indigenisation of intellectual discourse in Africa” and minimisation of “African societies going further on the *Kwii* way”. There seems to be no better way of achieving such a reorientation in how we conceptualise African Philosophy than starting right away to teach elements drawn from ethno-philosophy and professional philosophy through the medium of indigenous African languages (Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009) that still serve as vibrant media of intellectual exchange for the vast majority of Africans across colonial borders such as Kiswahili in East Africa.

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